

G. B. PANT SOCIAL SCIENCE  
ALLAHABAD  
LIBRARY

Class No. 305.8

Book No. 506

Acc. No. 2756

Cost

# PEOP

## The Ethnic D

### in Human P

Jerry D.

State University College,

Rand McNally College Publis



# PREFACE

There are those who feel that, to paraphrase the b  
writing of many textbooks is an abomination and a vexa  
onetheless, going to hazard vexing the spirit of collea  
y presenting this book as an instrument for teaching a  
e ethnic dimension in human relations.

The relevance of such an effort to academic or practic  
needs to be stated. Manifestations of the new ethnici  
ense of the relevance of ethnic group membership to th  
or personal identity—are superimposed on the all-to  
ersisting tendency for ethnicity to serve as an excuse fo  
f people of “minority” social status. The search for  
olidarity with one’s “own people,” the struggle for fa  
peoples—these are themes in the human condition that  
nd in all times. They are accordingly dominant them  
ociology, with its presumptuous effort to define genera  
ons of social existence.

Such vast themes have served to sensitize large numb  
udies of different ethnic peoples and of different syste  
ans. As with the other areas of human social experience

understand more fully the ethnic dimensions must let us  
 ly in this rich area of sociological research. There is  
 for travel *without* a travel guide, letting one's unpre-  
 establish generalizations about the country of the re-  
 veling. Yet there are points—and the wise instructor  
 mably knows these points—at which the student  
 guidance from a somewhat more experienced traveler.  
 we see an example of . . .”

write a travel guide for any field of sociological study.  
 e field of present concern, ethnicity, the task has a  
 ssible, judging by the dearth of efforts. This is not to  
 the several textbooks currently available on race and  
 minorities. They have not attempted to do what  
 a some cases, they provide very useful compendia  
 ethnic factor in some particular area of the world,  
 a more generalizing perspective, are addressed to  
 ssional colleagues or of very advanced students of so-  
 s, either these textbooks find the students where  
 ed, already enmeshed in a society and an ethnic group  
 —and these texts commendably satisfy the curiosity  
 derstand more of that social surrounding—or they  
 eads of neophyte students, leaving them to un-  
 ded travels. The spirit in which I have written this  
 g to the student: Take my hand and *together* we shall  
 ey in one of the dimensions of human existence. I  
 earn because we are all really beginning students of  
 ost learned of us understands maybe 1 or 2 per cent  
 nderstand about something, it is arrogance indeed  
 s virtually nothing: Follow *me* and *I'll* show you  
 haps more of my colleagues have not attempted so  
 use they, like myself, are impressed with the enormity  
 ot know about the territory to be covered. Still, all of  
 ers, are faced with that feeling of What in the hell  
 times a week when twenty or thirty intelligent  
 d us with the expectation that we *do something*  
 ation. It frees us, I think to do something helpful if we  
 udents *and* to ourselves some of that fellow traveler's  
 ove. Among the cardinal sins of teaching and writing  
 led the sin of being on occasion wrong in our perceptions

and define them—are those of obfuscation and intellectual dishonesty that stem from an egoistic need to feel that because we have earned our names and an academic title in front, we are entitled to claim that we “know it all.” Since we do not, in fact, we may claim to be more certain about a matter than we are (intellectual dishonesty), or we phrase our perceptions in such convoluted terms (obfuscation) that a critic cannot dispute them. I always claim that the critic did not “understand” our position. This is indeed a kind of game that professors (myself included) would like to urge that a whistle be blown against. Let us do something else for awhile. In setting rules for this new game, the intellectual (as opposed to the social) distance between professor and lay students of sociology is really very slight. This is a new book (or some far better book of the same type) that will serve as a guide for venturing together into an essentially uncharted intellectual experience. Let us not be afraid to make mistakes; let us discuss our learning; only let us remain *open* to criticism. Let us state our views clearly enough that our critics can correct them and give us the benefit of insights we have missed. Together, let us move ourselves collectively toward a little closer understanding of the human condition. Even failing this, we shall have enjoyed the companionship of coequal strivers in a worthwhile pursuit for the rest of our lives—whether a few days or many years. Let us continue as students of the vast mystery of human life.

My acknowledgments for this book are very easy for me to make. It is difficult to put into words. It was written over a period of many years that were essentially lonely in terms of my intellectual contacts with others for purposes of criticism and correction. I must state that the book is presented as an instrument of intellectual exploration. Yet, like another lonely sociologist, Charles H. Cooley, I have been studied closely and have tried in some respects to be aware of the absolute dependence of my work on the work of other persons. The influence of the writings of such giants as Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton, Max Weber, W. I. Thomas, C. Wright Mills, and others is fully obvious in the book itself. What has to be confessed is that a complete synthesis of this kind would not have been possible without the enormous number of laborers in the vineyard producing the raw materials used.

he does not edit out this paragraph—which I hereby acknowledge that Martha Urban is the ideal editor. Herself a wise person who can spot a faulty generalization, she has insisted that with every phrase and sentence, I say exactly what I *mean*. If the book is the instrument of knowledge on the subject than it aims to be, it will be the product of her loving ruthlessness on this score.

Beyond this, I owe the author's usual full measure of respect to those persons without whose forbearance a book could never be written. That at Rand McNally, Larry Malley, grew extra gray hairs as the organization of this book was shaped and reshaped over the course of some years. During the crucial last stages of completion, he generously allowed me to disrupt the routine of his considerable period of time, and through it all remained a steady and true friend. Closer to home, my department chairman and president of my college, Dallas Beal, acted in their usual magnanimity to lighten the burden of competing academic obligations that were owed and joyfully tendered to those who were most important: those they are the most loved: my wife and children. I owe a special obligation because "Daddy is writing his book" is a phrase of enormous ones, and the daddy in question can count on the fact that his influence will contribute in some way to a future that has not yet suffered from these lapses.

## v PREFACE

## 1 INTRODUCTION

1 People and Peoples

2 Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Relations

3 Some Biases in the Analysis

7 **PART 1: ETHNIC GROUPS**

## 8 OVERVIEW

8 Groups

9 Ethnic Groups

## 13 Chapter 1: ETHNIC IDENTITY

13 Who Am I? or Who Are They?

16 Variations in Ethnic Identity: Between

23 Variations in Ethnic Identity: Within

## 37 Chapter 2: ETHNIC LIFE STYLES

37 The Way of the People

39 Acculturation

55 Revitalization

## 58 Chapter 3: ETHNIC COMMUNITY

59 Ethnic Unity and Cleavage

67 Institutional Independence and De

79 **PART 2: ETHNIC RELATIONS**

## 80 OVERVIEW

## 85 Chapter 4: ETHNIC DISTANCE

85 Distance and Ethnic Relations

93 Segregation and Social Distance

97 Desegregation and the Reduction of



## **XII CONTENTS**

### **102 Chapter 5: ETHNIC STRATIFICATION DOMINANCE**

102 Dimensions of Stratification

104 Economic Stratification

116 Political Stratification

126 Social Stratification

### **132 Chapter 6: ORIGIN AND MAINTENANCE STRATIFICATION**

132 Origin of Ethnic Stratification

139 Mechanisms for the Maintenance of Ethnic Stratification

### **156 Chapter 7: ETHNIC DYNAMICS**

156 Introduction

157 Spontaneous Changes

162 Planned Changes

174 Ethnic Movements

### **187 AUTHOR INDEX**

### **193 SUBJECT INDEX**

**PEO**



# TRODUCTION

## PLE AND PEOPLES

biology seems to be gaining a reputation—a somewhat strange taste—for viewing people in terms of kinds, attempting thereby to account for differences in their votes differently than Tom Smith or prefers another. If John has a different sort of sex life, it is because John is a Jew or a Catholic while Tom is a teacher or a novelist. Among many other reputations, this one has a basis in fact, undoubtedly some embellishment on the fact by popular acquaintance with the field of sociology. Let us turn to pages of any of the leading professional journals in sociology, be confronted with table after table of “data” showing how which different kinds of people act or feel in a given situation. The “tend to” be more conservative on civil rights is the Negro people, women “tend to” seek out psychiatric aid more than men, etc.

A frequent objection to this generalizing is that it ignores the fact that every human being is unique—not reducible to the indignities of a

member of a category. Although to a outward appearance she is simply the typist in row 4 seat 16 in an office, she is really the one and only Sally, as will be known by her friends, and the man who will marry and perhaps attach her to a house at 416 Elm that, to all intents and purposes, is just like the house at 414 Elm).

Some of which is true. And all of which is irrelevant in the context of sociological insight that, while everyone is unique, there are other respects in which everyone is like everyone else. It is the problem of the sociologist, or of anyone else who wishes to understand human behavior, to sort out what is idiosyncratic and what is generally human from what is common or shared among members of a particular category of people. It is in this middle range of generality that the sociologist operates. Just *what* is it, the specific quality of Sally's social behavior (and, just as important, the response of other people toward *her*) that is attributable to the fact that she is a woman, the daughter of a professor, or the wife of an architect? The study of categories of people is based on the social assumption that the differences people make among different kinds of people are a difference in the way they act and in the way they are perceived toward them. In this book we look at one kind of difference: that of ethnic-group membership. To be a black or white person in the United States, a coloured person in Britain, or a Catholic in Ireland is to be something that has predictable consequences for one's relations with those of one's own kind as well as with those of other kinds. Exactly what these consequences are understood in a particular society is the simply stated but immense problem of this or any book dealing with the role of ethnicity.

**ETHNIC GROUPS AND ETHNIC RELATIONS**

The sociological writings on ethnicity—an immense body of work—take one of two different forms. Either we find studies that focus on specific ethnic groups in specific societal or community contexts—the “coloured” of South Africa, the Maori in New Zealand, the Chicanos of Los Angeles; or we find studies that deal with the relationship between two or more ethnic groups in a given society or community—the relationship between the English-speaking and the French-speaking in Canada, or between black and Jewish groups in

These are obviously related matters—no single ethnic group can be understood in isolation from its relationships with other groups. A study of ethnic relations can ignore the nature of the relations that exist—it still provides a useful tool in focusing on our subject to maintain this distinction between the two. Part 1 of this book focuses on ethnic *groups* and the social relevant sociological dimensions in the study of a group. Otherwise Part 2 examines in some detail the various types of relations between ethnic groups that may be observed at different levels. The introductions to Part 1 and Part 2 will examine the various dimensions of ethnicity involved in each such focus.

## THE BIASES IN THE ANALYSIS

Any book on ethnicity will display some of the author's biases. The work will have a personal stamp even if the writer tries to respect for the conventions of the literary genre involved. Some of these dispositions or biases are spelled out by the author in the introduction for the analysis that follows or—if this be the case—save him the trouble of reading something that is not relevant to his interests.

The whole tone of the book is intended to be analytical and descriptive in nature. The author has no remedies for the problems of contemporary society with reference to the problem of intergroup relations. At least none to be huckstered from the podium of the speaker at the meetings of sociology—and some of its professional journals have tried to downgrade the value of sociological analysis in favor of solutions to troubling social problems. Certainly the study of ethnic groups and ethnic relations is subject to the same "irrelevance" to the contemporary conflicts between ethnic groups as the study of politics or happens to believe that sociology in general and ethnicity in particular are relevant to such concerns. A person who is the director of an organization devoted to bettering the lot of the poor and certainly be well served to have a background in sociology, ethnic relations, or, indeed, of sociology in general. It may be that this relevance exists precisely *because* problems of social justice have maintained an attitude of value neutrality toward the problems of sociological investigation. The person of affairs in the field of politics, business, etc. may find sociological analysis useful because they were developed by people with no ideological bias.

whether this is a valid reason or a self-serving excuse. The analysis that follows, it remains a fact that the reader can only hope that the author intends to provide the framework for understanding social groups and ethnic relations and that he has some remedy in mind for the ills of the world.

The kind of analysis that follows is *nomothetic* in nature. What these terms imply is that the analysis is to develop certain generalizations or propositions that tend to stimulate certain states or changes in the social world. The specific instances that demonstrate are simply illustrations of such general principles. The book is rich in ethnographic or historical detail, but it might be said that it is a bit too much so. In any case, along with a great many other instances that illustrate a general tendency in human society, there are surely some pitfalls that need to be avoided. Nomothetic or so-called theoretical sociology has an armchair character, its development in splendid isolation from the empirical world of reality. When the theorist is merely talking about this world, it is merely to illustrate principles. Certainly some of the founders of sociology were guilty of this. Auguste Comte practiced "cerebral hygiene," and never to read anything that disagreed with his theory. He was jokingly accused of authoring a book (which he never wrote) called *A Beautiful Theory Murdered by a Brutal Fact*. This is a caricature of tendencies toward selective perception. In spite of its perceived notions, it still describes in exaggerated form the fallacy of sociological analysis to look for a "beautiful" instance of a general relation and then to search for various instances that "confirm" the validity of the idea. The fallacy in this, of course, is that statistics can be made to "lie" to prove a point, so truth is often found by dredging up empirical examples to validate a preconceived principle. Given the great variety of human behavior and the more so, the variety of human perspectives that contribute to our understanding of that behavior, it may be possible to find a great number of outlandish of propositions with instances that, with a little ingenuity, can be seen as exemplifying the proposition. Such observations have led some students to conclude that the ethnographic approach is necessary—one that emphasizes

human condition that necessitates a full historical  
ion. From this perspective, the "story" of human be  
narrative or chronological, without any necessary  
some exaggeration no doubt, history has been descri  
ed thing after another." In contrast, sociologists ten  
tempting to generalize about which damned thing  
other things. The enormity of this risk will be demo  
s in this book, where the author is skating on the  
e empirical evidence to back up suggested proposi  
ally given fair warning at these points by expression  
."

An extension, really, of the last point is another fea  
emphasis on cross-cultural material from outside the U  
d States. Sociological treatises on ethnic groups o  
tended to be quite U.S.A.-centered in their approach  
or cross-cultural perspective adopted here is designe  
social world is not bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific  
co and Canada. For many interesting reasons not  
the field of sociology—including the sociology of  
dominated by American practitioners. Perhaps bec  
most other people, are more comfortable in famili  
have tended to study and record social situation  
ago and New Haven are two cities that have bee  
logically; not, perhaps, because of the intrinsic soc  
ese places, but because major departments of sociol  
e University of Chicago and at Yale University. Wha  
logical writing and instruction in the United State  
entrate on deviance, the family, politics, etc. as th  
ican society.

or is this tendency absent from the present book.  
ne American and certainly "knows" American pr  
ons far better than those in any other society. Also  
primary aim in citing empirical cases of ethnic gr  
ons is pedagogic, to help the student grasp the nat  
iple being enunciated. For this purpose "familiar"  
ed to on the assumption that students, too, will be r  
American social scene. Nevertheless, a generous  
ican cases will be found here. This practice not onl  
o be soc o ogy should be a soc o ogy of *human* not



behavior also reflects a value base of the author. It may be stated that Americans may be inclined to be far more preoccupied with their own experiences, with little appreciation for the possibilities of our society that could follow from a wider knowledge of the world and our boundaries.

One final point can be made in this definition of the book's scope for the following analysis. A number of commentators have complained that, while there is an overdevelopment of the analysis in the field of ethnic groups, there has so far been little attention to the sociological analysis of such nonethnic minorities as women, homosexuals, ex-convicts, etc. Since the author is a sociologist, it might be wondered why still another treatise on the subject is being put forth when the crying need today is for sociological studies of these other minorities. The author is likewise convinced of the need for reorientation of sociological study toward such nonethnic minorities. It was with this need fairly constantly in mind that the book was written. It is hoped that the set of analytic tools developed for the study of ethnic groups and ethnic relations are tools that can be applied to the study of nonethnic minorities. When we reach a point in the future wherein all of human grouping and intergroup relations are understood in terms of a single set of explanatory principles, it can be hoped, as a minor footnote in a history of sociology, that from detailed knowledge of quite specific human groupings we can derive those "general ideas," the development of which has distinguished human beings from any of the "lower" animals.

# ART 1

# ETHNIC GROUPS

# OVERVIEW

## GROUPS

Sociology is sometimes characterized as the “study of society,” and, while this definition is debatable, it points to a field of sociological problems. This “set”—or at least a major part—is presented in the three chapters in this section.

Common to all these aspects of ethnic groups is the question of ethnic group *survival*—one version of the age-old question: Is it possible? in the face of all the forces that tend to break them apart? associating with one another. Ethnic groups are certainly aware of the fact that their survival is problematic. People complain that sports clubs do not have the strength they once had, that the relationship between Jews and Gentiles threatens the very survival of the Jewish people, etc.

Chapter 1 takes up the matter of *identity* of the person who belongs to an ethnic group. Without some we-feeling, some sense of common interest with other members of one's group, it would be difficult to see how any human group would survive. If each person were only a bundle of self-interests without any sense of shared

As Durkheim put it, if group membership were based on the selfish interest of persons—what each person can get out of it—in the mode of thought that Durkheim attributed to the ancients, an association would be short-lived indeed, because what unites people at one time may divide them at another. If group unity requires more solidarity or cohesion than this, an anthropological analysis has been concerned with those conditions that encourage or retard identification or dis-identification of people with other groups.

Chapter 2 deals with ethnic group survival from a sociological perspective. One of the forces that certainly holds a society together is a shared culture or way of life that is usually seen as distinctive, as distinguishing “we” who practice this valued way of life from those who practice alien and “inferior” ways. The central problem of Chapter 2 is the phenomenon of acculturation, the adoption of the ways of life of members of one ethnic group in contact with other groups. Acculturation is clearly a threat to ethnic group survival, and the chapter discusses the causes and of those conditions that encourage or retard ethnic group survival of concern in this chapter.

Chapter 3 examines the degree of community that is characteristic of different ethnic groups. Two rather different meanings of community are defined here, both being vital conditions for the survival of ethnic groups. The first meaning refers to at least a minimum degree of mutual liking and respect that must exist between members of different ethnic groups. Group survival is certainly threatened by internal ethnic conflict and ethnocentrism. The second concept of community involves the degree of self-sufficiency of a group in providing all the needs of its members. Thus ethnic group survival is measured by the extent to which, on the one hand, group members look to their ethnic group for the satisfaction of their physical, welfare, medical, religious, and other kinds of needs, and, on the other, the extent to which ethnic group members must look outside the ethnic group to supply these needs.

## ETHNIC GROUPS

Most readers of this book—and their reasonably well-informed friends—will have an intuitive understanding of the concept of an ethnic group.

news commentators, for example, discuss the outcome of an election, it is understood that the voting behavior of such groups (in the United States, American Indians, or descendants of East Europeans) is being discussed. When one tries to put this understanding in words for sociologists must do in order to keep the referent for which they may find the words hard to come by.

Ethnic groups are the categories in terms of which we perceive different "peoples." Shibutani and Kwan give a definition: "An ethnic group consists of those individuals who regard themselves as alike by virtue of their common ancestry, culture, and language, who are so regarded by others."<sup>2</sup>

This definition emphasizes the role of ancestry in the formation of ethnic groups. People are seen as inheriting their ethnic labels by virtue of their ancestry. It is not people who themselves were born to parents who had a different ancestry in the same way. The definition also, in terms of its emphasis on ancestry, states an important fact about ethnic groups: that the system of perception prevailing among a people, and the errors of fact about the history of a group of people in the United States who identify themselves ethnically as such, are in fact the contemporary product of much racial intermixture among their ancestors. But what is really in ethnic terms is not sociologically relevant. What is that people are *assigned* an ethnic heritage by a given society, and this assignment may well have a great deal to do about it.

The limitation of the Shibutani and Kwan definition should be noted. The definition implies that a consciousness of common ancestry is the basis of ethnic groups. A little thought on the matter will show that people who engage in a particular occupation—whether as a profession or as a trade—regard themselves and are regarded by others as a group because they ply a trade according to a set of traditions passed down by their predecessors in that trade. Yet we do not regard them as peoples or ethnic groups. We regard them as workers or prostitutes or priests as peoples or ethnic groups.

ence, perhaps, is the *ascribed* quality of membership. One does not choose one's ethnic ancestors, though one typically does (in most societies) choose one's set of attached "ancestors." Ethnicity, unlike tribal affiliations, is acquired as a kind of birthmark that one cannot attempt to conceal but can never quite renounce. "Once you are \_\_\_\_\_, you are \_\_\_\_\_."

If we want more detail, then, on those likenesses of people on the basis for ethnic classification, we must determine what is assigned to a person on the basis of the status of his or her parents. One of the more obvious of these is *social class* or the prestige or respectability of the person. Although the social class of the parents is ascribed to the child in virtually all societies, there is an opportunity for class status to be altered on the basis of his or her adult accomplishments. Only where social status is severely restricted and *castes* are created is it appropriate to treat social classes as peoples or ethnic groups. Most social scientists treat social class not as an ethnic group, but as a form of differentiation of people coexisting with ethnicity, with profound effects on the consequences of ethnic classification.

What similarities, then, are more appropriate criteria for membership of ethnic groups? A number of sociologists, including Gordon, have argued that ethnic groups should be seen as involving *ancestry, national origin, religion, or some combination of these*.<sup>3</sup> This suggestion is generally adopted for the present understanding that there is some questionability about the concept of *ethnia*. For example, individuals certainly do acquire traits (their race) from their biological parents. But the phenomenon of racial "passing" is an indication that race is not always "regarded by others," may vary from the strict biological group of a person's parents. One's national origin, though, is likewise an ascribed and inescapable classification. Despite the changing and other concealments, the individual cannot avoid his or her ethnic background.

---

<sup>3</sup> Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 1-2.

Religion would seem at first glance the most tenuous criterion of ethnic status. Certainly children are baptized and incorporated into the religion of their parents long before the age of consent," and certainly this ascribed religious status defines most persons throughout their lives as they honor the faith. However, religious conversion does occur, and while it might be compared to racial passing or the concealment of origin, there is an obvious difference in that conversion is sanctioned, often in an elaborate ceremonial, while passing and concealment are lonely acts of ethnic denial. For all this difficulty in using religion as a criterion of ethnic membership, the fact remains that, in most situations, religious affiliation is essentially an act of affirmation. Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland and Jews and Christians in Israel tend to feel and act as *if* their religious affiliation bound them together with a common ancestry. On these pragmatic grounds there is good reason to include religion as an additional basis for ethnic membership.

# CHAPTER 1

## ETHNIC IDENTITY

### WHO AM I? OR WHO ARE THEY?

One of the more disarmingly simple approaches to self-identify themselves is to ask them to write several sentences in response to the question, "Who am I?" Given complete freedom to do so, in writing such answers, most people will begin with references to various social categories or *stereotypes* of people of which they are members: I am a male, a Catholic, a construction worker. Note that these are categories that *distinguish* that person from persons of other categories, religions, etc. Only occasionally do respondents think to offer the information that "I am a human being" or "part of the universe" or some other label that identifies them with all of humanity. Some of these identification categories are *ethnic groups*, as when people identify themselves by race, or national origin.

Like ethnic identification, as with all other self-identification, there is the possibility that individuals may not identify themselves with any of the categories offered.

---

Research using this research instrument was reported in Manford H. Allport, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," *American Journal of Psychology* (1954):68-76. For a more recent summary of such research, see "The Classification and Ordering of Responses to the Question 'Who Am I?'" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 13(1972):329-347.



identified by others. A man may see himself as young doctor, others, observing that in fact he is forty eight, attends church and is still a medical intern, may question this as inaccurate or inflated. Ethnic identification is an agreement between the namer and the named.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes this discrepancy results from individual egotism, a tendency to see oneself in the better light. In Brazil, where there is a derogated physical appearance, few people call themselves *preto*, which leads to the observation that it is always the one down the road who is *preto*. This egocentrism sometimes takes a collective form, in which a whole group claims membership in an ethnic category to which outside of them. Berry has described the problems of some groups of "triracial isolates" in the United States, people of a dominant mixture of European, African, and American Indian bloods.<sup>3</sup> Such people are frequently classified as black by their southern neighbors, much to their distress, since they are physically Indian in origin. Such people are marginal in that they are clearly located in neither one social category nor the other. The ones studied by Berry, for example, were caught in the system of de jure segregation of schools in the South. Being white, of having Negro "blood," they were not admitted to white schools. Adamantly rejecting the Negro label for themselves, they had to send their children to black schools.<sup>4</sup> Many other examples could be cited of such painful misidentification. We might, for example, consider the case of South Africa, people of mixed native and European blood who usually speak Afrikaans (the language of South Africa) and who have enjoyed some political rights though they are called "natives." In recent years, with an increasingly strict policy in South Africa, the coloureds have in many cases been "reclassified" as natives.<sup>5</sup> In much the same way

---

A analysis that treats social identity largely as a matter of "naming" oneself and others, see Anselm Strauss, *Mirrors and Masks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).  
on Berry, *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan, 1963).

*Almost White*, pp. 112-133.

L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), pp. 39-42.

of Rhodes, a greatly resented being classified by whites as "Indian" and "coloured" and identified them with the native people of the country.<sup>6</sup> The other observation about the nature of ethnic identity is a caveat to the kind of analysis that follows. In much of the writing about variations in ethnic or other group identities, ethnicity is treated as a variable *between* individuals whose personal ethnic identity is presumed to be persistent and unvarying. It is more accurate psychologically to treat ethnic identity as a function of the individual, a tendency that may be activated or repressed according to the situation.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the Who am I question might realistically be countered with, Who am I now, today, or tomorrow? What a person is or is thought to be is fluid, changing with the occasion.<sup>8</sup> On a heterosexual date, the fact that a woman is a woman may be a fundamental element in her attractiveness and her salience in the structuring of the social relationship. The fact that she is a doctor is kept latent by the situation, treated as situationally irrelevant.<sup>9</sup> In an operating room, however, the salience of her sex and occupation

---

Dotson and Lillian Dotson, "Indians and Coloureds in Rhodesia," *Africa Today* 10(July 1963):61-75.

Andrew Greeley, an Irish Catholic professor at the University of Chicago, writes that the sociological question is *not* whether his nationality, ethnicity, or of residence is his most important identity, but "under what circumstances he defines himself" in terms of one of these identities. Andrew W. Greeley, *Who Am I? Us?* (New York: Dutton, 1971), p. 86.

The situational character of the human self is strongly emphasized in the impression management mode of analysis associated with the work of Erving Goffman. A specific application of this approach to the study of ethnic groups is found in Robert A. and William A. Douglass, "Ethnicity: Strategies of Collective Action and Impression Management," *Social Research*, 40(Summer, 1973):344-365.

Goffman uses games as examples of social encounters in which people typically operate within the narrow confines of the activity at hand. Goffman comments on the "stage management" by which encounters are protected from being "inundated" by such factors as the social statuses of the players. Erving Goffman, *Encounters: The Sociology of Interaction* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), pp. 13-14. Everett C. Hughes notes the frequency with which supposedly irrelevant details intrude on many situations. Most people expect a doctor, for example, to be middle-aged. The fact that a doctor turns out to be a woman, a young woman, or very old is disconcerting at least. Adjustments are made accordingly. In the case of a woman, her practice is adjusted to those of her own ethnic group, a woman doctor in pediatrics. Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology* 50(1945):353-359.

to be reversed. in some situations, a person and his or her identity may be so strongly associated with a particular group that they may be easily forgotten. It is important to remember that the person is a Jew, though all people are not. If reminded should the conversation turn to the subject of religion. Implicit in much that follows is the idea that ethnicity is not an attribute of any individual or group but is subject to situational variation.

## **VARIATIONS IN ETHNIC IDENTITY: BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS**

The sociologist's interest in ethnic identity, as in all other aspects of sociological investigation, concerns the variability of this identity in different situations. In the remainder of this chapter we will explore two dimensions of this variability: (1) the intensity and kind of ethnic identity of different ethnic groups in different social situations; (2) the degree of ethnic identity of different kinds or categories within an ethnic group. It is one thing, for example, to compare the ethnic consciousness of blacks and Chicanos in the United States. It is quite a different thing to compare the degree or kind of ethnic identity among the middle classes and the lower classes in the United States. This chapter takes up the first of these two kinds of variability.

## **Variations in Ethnic Consciousness between Ethnic Groups**

Ethnicity, like age, sex, social class, or any other category, is a variable that may be emphasized or relatively ignored in a given social situation. The relations may be such that it is brought home to a person that he or she is a white man, or an Englishman, or a Catholic. In other situations, ethnic background may be permitted to sit lightly upon a person's identity. In a fairly high degree of ethnic consciousness seems to be a characteristic of human society, we may learn something about the nature of ethnic consciousness by looking at some "cases" in which this aspect of identity seems to be particularly important. First, we can look at the situation of societies with strong commitments to the minimization of ethnic differences. The United States of America comes readily to mind. The United States proscribes discrimination on the basis of race. In somewhat more technical terms, American society has achieved a high degree of embodying an *achievement* rather than an *ascription*.

<sup>10</sup> According to American ideals, it is not "who you are" (or other ascribed characteristics) but "what you do" that determines the social estimate of one's worth. At least since the publication of Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, it has been widely recognized that there is considerable discrepancy between the egalitarianism espoused in the Declaration of Independence and the realities of American practice, in which invidious ethnic distinctions are constantly being made.<sup>11</sup> It has been widely assumed that the awareness of this discrepancy would lead to efforts to bring reality closer to the ideal, so that eventually American society would become as undifferentiated as the value system implies. In fact, however, a great deal about "unmeltable ethnics" and the persistence of ethnic consciousness in America.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, it is true that the ideology of the inherent equality of all has had a corrosive effect on ethnic identity in the United States. "Hyphenated" Americans have come to feel more identification with the hyphen than with that preceding it. Another possible factor in diminished ethnic consciousness is the emphasis, in which, in a given society, some nonethnic basis of status is emphasized at the expense of ethnic consciousness. Brazil serves as an example. Brazil's so-called racial democracy has encouraged blacks and racially mixed persons to assume major roles in the society.<sup>13</sup> These opportunities for blacks have been obscured by the country's extreme social-class consciousness, in which a person's background may be overlooked if the person has wealth and high levels of social esteem.<sup>14</sup> There is even the feeling that

---

Robert Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 10.  
Harold Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944).  
Israel Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 1.  
Why, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*

Jo Willems, "Racial Attitudes in Brazil," *American Journal of Sociology* 65 (1959): 402-408.

There are many popular Brazilian expressions to indicate this intermingling of traits. For example, "a rich Negro is a white and a poor white is a Negro." See Wagley, *Amazon Town* (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p. 135. The interrelated features of ethnic identification elsewhere in Latin America are discussed by Pitt-Rivers, "Race, Color and Class in Central America and the Caribbean," *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967): 542-559.

itself can be altered by the social mobility process, that "money whitens."<sup>15</sup> An additional factor is the fact that the substantial interbreeding of the Portuguese with the indigenous Indians and with imported African slaves created a variety of mixed racial types in the country. Thus, the variety of physical appearance make uncertain the exact racial classification of a person.<sup>16</sup> With race so complex and controversial in Brazil, and with social class such a strongly developed factor, the complexity of racial identification in Brazil is understandable.

### **Factors in the Basis of Ethnic Identity**

We have noted the view that ethnicity is based on criteria other than race, religion, or national origin. A closer examination of ethnic identity will show that, in a given society, one or more of these criteria of ethnicity may be emphasized at the expense of others. At times, of course, the three reinforce one another. The concept of peoplehood that is at once racial, religious, and national, like "the Anglo-Saxon Protestant," for example, or "Irish-American," when applied to an American, implies not only his nationality but also his religion and white race.

More restricted versions of common ancestry emerge when one or more of these criteria of ethnic affiliation work at cross-purposes. The non-Roman Catholicism of a group of people may divide them sharply along racial or national lines. In the United States, Catholics will identify themselves as Irish Catholic, Italian Catholic, or Polish Catholic. And in Belgium, a largely

---

<sup>15</sup> N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); W. H. Hutchinson, *Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern North Carolina* (Washington Press, 1957). The same situation may be noted in Mexico, where local administrators charged with the racial classification of Mexicans often found that racial breeding was so common, ultimately threw up their hands and allowed individuals to define their own racial membership. Chester L. Hunt and James H. H. Hunt, *Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1974*, p. 139.

<sup>16</sup> It has been suggested that in America, too, the rising importance of social class identities as age, sex, and profession may be undermining racial identity. For an application of this idea to Jewish identity in America, see S. Liebman, "American Jewry: Identity and Affiliation," in *The Future of the Jewish Community in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 52.

are sharp—often bitter—divisions between the French and the Walloons (of French origin). Sometimes nationality does not prevent differentiation of identity along nationality lines: white vs. black in the United States, or Protestant vs. Catholic in Northern Ireland.

An important question about ethnicity in any society, therefore, is the importance placed upon racial, religious, and national identity. To illustrate sociological analysis in this vein, we will examine contemporary societies that are heterogeneous along nationality lines: the United States and South Africa. In the United States, that the people who populate the United States come from many different national origins is a familiar fact. Also familiar is the “melting pot” view of American society, whereby immigrants, sometimes cajoled, into an “Americanization” process, eventually gave up their differentiated national identities.<sup>18</sup> A corollary is the progressive elimination of a conscious tie to the “old country.” The increasing tendency of people to marry across lines of nationality means individuals can ignore their national ethnicity in choosing a mate. If so, they presumably can avoid generally any sharp divisions along national origins.

One’s conception of the loss of ethnic identity in the United States usually to be modified with the discovery that, while there is a trend across lines of national origin is increasingly common in the United States, there is also an increase in the tendency to marry across lines of religion. The most common intermarriage across lines of national origin is between people from countries with the same predominant religion. For example, among Irish and Polish and Italians (Catholic) and between Scandinavians and British (Protestant). Kennedy’s conclusions about patterns of intermarriage in New Haven, Connecticut, led him to reject the “melting pot” conception of assimilative tendencies in the United States, with each major religious grouping (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) providing a framework for continuing ethnic identity in the United States, rather than national origins as such a basis.<sup>19</sup>

---

For a description of the Americanization movement, see Milton M. Eisenhower, *American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 98–100. See also Jo Reeves Kennedy, “Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage in New Haven, 1950,” *American Journal of Sociology* 58 (July 1952): 56–59.

ron found a similar tendency toward religious endogamy (within one's religious category) in a small Connecticut town. He shows that religious endogamy among Protestants is more than simply the marriage of Protestant with Protestant. Marriages are between persons of the same religious denomination: Lutheran, Presbyterian, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The triple melting pot hypothesis was elaborated upon in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*.<sup>22</sup> Herberg notes the contumacious refusal of Americans to identify themselves by their religion, even when they are evasive about their national origins. An anecdote in the book concerns an army sergeant who is interviewing a recruit about his religious affiliation. After being told that he is Protestant, the recruit successively says he is Catholic, then Jewish, and finally the sergeant exclaimed, "Well, what the blazes are you?"<sup>23</sup> This is so much taken for granted in the United States that individuals who do not so identify themselves are socially disadvantaged. Recent articles in popular magazines have been encountered by agnostic or atheistic couples when they were asked for their religious affiliation. Political success is probably dependent on having a religious affiliation. When, in the 1960 presidential campaign, Kennedy's Catholicism was raised, his Republican opponent said that this should be an issue. The "tolerant" answer is that only if a candidate had *no* religion should it be an issue. In the United States, religious identity is almost tantamount to being religious. The blazes-are-you status.<sup>24</sup>

---

in Barron, *People Who Intermarry* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p. 10. See also W. Greeley, "Religious Intermarriage in a Denominational Context," *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(May, 1970) 949-952.

Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), p. 40.

Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, p. 40. The "un-Americanism" of any American who does not identify himself with a religion is illustrated in Banton's citation of the experience of an eminent sociologist, W. I. Thomas. While a college student, Thomas worked in Chicago. He was asked by fellow workers, "What are you?" Thomas answered, "I am a sociologist." The questioners, however, "this answer was not acceptable. 'American' and everyone had to fit into some ethnic category. Eventually Thomas was called 'Englishman!'" Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 10.

is not on of the persistence of religious identification of national origin identification in the United States has been. Much criticism has taken is to show that religious endogamy is in some places as it was in Kennedy's New Haven. The rate of marriage between Catholics and non-Catholics is higher in many other places, especially where Catholicism is a majority in the community.<sup>25</sup> Even when Catholics do marry non-Catholics they may have a strong preference for marriage partners of the same national origin. The hostility between Irish and non-Irish Catholics led to a very low intermarriage rate, for example, between the two groups.<sup>26</sup>

Another line of analysis that is implicitly critical of the decline of national origin consciousness is the finding that the decline of national origin consciousness is not complete today as one might have anticipated from the assimilationist theories—clubs composed of Italian-Americans, African-Americans, etc.—flourish today in many parts of the country, and people identify themselves as half-Polish and half-Jewish if their parents were of those two national origins. Political parties are constrained to "balance the ticket" by nominating people of different national origins that will appeal to the "ethnic vote." Also, as one indication of continued sociological importance of national origin in America, several major publishing houses have launched series of analyses of Americans of different national origins. The fact that specific ethnic groups may serve to enhance national identity, even at the expense of lessened religious consciousness, is illustrated by a Christian Arab group from Iraq, Sengstock's study of heightened Arab nationalism associated with the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict, these people have come to a new awareness of their national identity.

---

L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Partners," *Sociological Review*, 16(August, 1951):487-491. Similarly, the marriage rate is much more frequently in Iowa and Indiana, where the proportion of Catholics is very small. Marshall Sklare, *America's Jews* (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 100.

W. L. F. Why Can't They Be Like Us?, p. 90. For further evidence on the marriage patterns of Catholics of different national origins, see Harold J. Abramson, *Catholic America* (New York: Wiley, 1973), pp. 51-68.

See R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer, *The Ethnic Factor* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 100.



s.<sup>28</sup> All these developments may be symptomatic of a long-standing view that, in American society, one stands higher than one's national origin in the scale of consciousness.

In South Africa, the main dilemma of ethnic identity is the conflict between *national origin* (or *nationality*) on the one hand and *national origin* (or *nationality*) of native peoples) on the other.<sup>29</sup> The white vs. black conflict on the whole world is familiar coexists with national identity that threaten always to dilute a simple race consciousness. On the one side, there has been a chronic conflict between the Dutch (or Boer) conquerors of the Cape and the English who were unable to dominate South Africa (the Union of South Africa was proclaimed in 1904). Equally "white," Dutch and English were far apart culturally, as symbolized by the languages spoken—the Dutch developed an African variety called *Afrikaans*. At times it has appeared that the conflict would override their sense of racial unity.<sup>30</sup> But the demands of native demands for an end to the historical oppression has created an awareness that, after all, the English and the Afrikaners, who dominate the country economically, have just as much racism as do the Afrikaners, who dominate the country politically.<sup>31</sup> According to van den Berghe, white unity is stimulated by the *art gevaar*, an Afrikaans phrase meaning "black danger." On the black side, there has been a traditional pattern of tribalism, which divides natives into many "peoples" with different languages and ways of life. The policies of the white government have

---

C. Sengstock, "Traditional and Nationalist Identity in a Christianized Society," *Journal of Religious Studies*, 35(Autumn, 1974).201-210.

Following discussion is based on Pierre L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Race Relations* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965).

B. Orlik, "Divided Against Itself: South Africa's White Policy," *American Studies*, 8(July, 1970) 199-212.

An analysis of this "curious phenomenon" by which the English rule it economically while the Afrikaners rule it politically, see Julius Leiber, *South Africa: Essays on Race Relations* (London: Merlin Press, 1965).

van den Berghe, *South Africa*, p. 107.

van den Berghe, *South Africa*, p. 49.

a have successively attacked, then attempted to particularism.<sup>34</sup> The recruitment of native labor to mines of the country's industrial economy, has separated tribal insulation and treated them as an undifferentiated group. More recently, a policy of "tribalism" has been the *apartheid*, or racial segregation, policy of the government. Attempts are made to segregate workers in labor compounds by origins. The "Bantustan" policy of the government, the use of traditional tribal languages, and the establishment of "higher education" in the native languages are debatable whether this policy is, as many natives suspect, of the government to divide and conquer, or, as some claim, a humane respect for native tradition. At any rate, the struggle against racial domination tend to reject tribalism and to cast their lot with a Pan-African black identity with their traditional tribal identities.<sup>35</sup> Altogether, the policies in South Africa have tended to reduce a complex of national or tribal identities to the polarized identities of the whites.

## VARIATIONS IN ETHNIC IDENTITY: WITHIN ETHNIC GROUPS

The discussion so far has concerned variations in the degree of ethnic identification between different peoples. In fact that there is usually significant variation of ethnic identity within an ethnic group. In analyzing this variation, we use the sociological procedure of looking at differences in the different kinds of identity among different social structures. For illustration, we shall consider the variable

---

a general discussion of "tribal particularism" as it was practiced in their East African colonies, and of some of the effects of tribalism and after the period of anticolonial revolt, see P. H. Gulliver, *Tribalism in East Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 37-46. For a general analysis of the South African Bantustan policy, see L. van den Berghe, "Language and Nationalism in South Africa," *Ethnic Dynamics*, pp. 171-175. For a general analysis of the South African Bantustan policy, see L. van den Berghe, *South Africa*, p. 234.

of class and occupation and show how variations related to variations in ethnic identity.

## Generations

Sociologists have been made aware by Mannheim and others that different age categories or generations may have very different attitudes and behavior. Generational differences may thus be one of the most significant social structural variables for purposes of investigation.<sup>37</sup> This awareness confirms the popular understanding of a "generation gap" often exists between people of different ages. The application of the generation variable to the study of ethnic identity has not generally followed the strict definition of a generation as individuals born at about the same time. It is certainly an advantage to differentiate the ethnic identities of members of an ethnic group—older vs. younger Americans, for example. However, most sociological attention has focused on the study of immigrant peoples and has defined generations in terms of the time of their own immigration. Thus, *first generation* refers to immigrants, *second generation* to the children of immigrants (and so on), *third generation* to those who immigrated as children and spent their lives in a new country), *third generation* to the grandchildren, etc.<sup>38</sup> Numerous sociological studies have been

---

Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in Paul Kecskemeti, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 135.  
Krisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).  
In most circumstances there is at least a rough correlation between generation defined as young vs. old, since most grandchildren are younger than most immigrants. In a situation in which new immigration is diminished (as in the case of Japanese and Chinese immigration), the correlation will be very high, and age can practically be substituted for generation in its effect on ethnicity. Where new immigration is still very high, as in the case of the United States—there may be many new immigrants (first generation) who are the children of immigrants (second generation). Where this situation exists, the sociologist's task to separate the effects of age and immigrant status (third generation) by controlling for the effects of one of these variables will be difficult. We are being examined. For an example of a study that does this, see  
Alvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans. Three Generations in the Making* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 968.

ethnic identities of people of different generations was  
away. The United States, as a "land of immigrants," has  
target of this kind of analysis.

A number of influential historians and sociologists have  
a general scheme for explaining generational differences in  
this scheme is the starting point for most studies in the  
this interpretation, immigrants took with them to America  
were much more regional or local than national. Chinese  
immigrants tended to insulate themselves from the  
social environment by settling among people from  
often gave the name of their old-country village to the  
community in which they lived (often with "New  
York").<sup>40</sup>

cept, perhaps, in some rural communities where a high  
immigrants from the same home-country region or town  
endency of the immigrant to maintain a very narrow  
eroded under American social conditions. For one thing,  
native-born Americans were not keenly aware of the  
of peoplehood, and tended to treat as alike all who  
age or adhered to a given religion. (The native American  
el that "all Chinamen look alike.") For another, the  
d that they had to widen the scope of their associ-  
s of their national origin if they hoped to maintain  
churches, schools, and welfare associations.<sup>41</sup> The

---

ar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952); Herbert  
; Marcus L. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge  
sity Press, 1940); Bernard Lazerwitz, "Contrasting the Effects  
nd Age on Group Identification in the Jewish and Protestant Com-  
e, 49(September, 1970):50-59.

imilar process among southern migrants to northern cities is noted  
ample, there is a Tennessee Street, so named because so many mi-  
ttled there. Lewis M. Killian, *White Southerners* (New York: R.  
K.

same tendency has been noted in such "internal" migrant situ-  
American Indians from rural tribal reservations and their "relocation."  
location policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has encouraged  
many different cities and discouraged the formation of tribal "gh-  
the result is an identity-widening effect called pan-Indianism, which  
to reasons suggested in the case of immigrant ethnic peoples: (1)  
s do not recognize and sharp tribal differen

as strangers in a new land was to lessen some of  
prevailed among people of the same country but  
subcultures.<sup>42</sup> To this enlarged home-country iden  
grant remained firmly attached  
members of the second generation, in spite of the b  
grant parents to inculcate a strong identity based  
d to reject this identity, at least according to the sch  
ve are following. For many children of immigrants  
d in a painful way—some variant of “Am I Italian  
ren who attended public schools and competed for  
ers in the wider American society were likely t  
minations practiced against those adhering to the  
parents. Many children were accordingly ashamed  
ashamed of any such marks of ethnic identifica  
ding name.<sup>44</sup> Name changing—the Anglicizing of

---

(2) because any semblance of an Indian “community” must  
Indians at large, given the paucity in any one urban neighborho  
Navaho man complained that he could go every bar in L  
other Navaho). Los Angeles is generally noted for the wide di  
in its population and for the development under such urban con  
dentity and community life. John A. Price, “The Migration and A  
to Los Angeles,” *Human Organization*, 27 (Summer, 1968)  
s of the situation in San Francisco, see Joan Ablon, “Relocate  
San Francisco Bay Area. Social Interaction and Indian Identity,”  
ter, 1964) 296–304.

ould be noted that the experience of immigration does not alw  
ng effect. West Indian immigrants to Great Britain, like other  
have gone to England with a strong sense of themselves as Brit  
lered by a thoroughly British education at home. Once in Englan  
ered by the rejecting reactions of the natives that they represen  
of Briton: the black Briton. West Indian identity is, indeed, bri  
ause of a breakdown of smaller identities, but rather from a diss  
hiro, *Black British, White British* (London: Eyre & Spottiswo  
L. Child, *Italian or American* (New Haven: Yale Universit  
on of writings on the problems of second-generation immigrat  
*Children of the Uprooted* (New York: Braziller, 1966).

phenomenon of being ashamed of one's parents is not, of cours  
ns; many children are ashamed of their parents because their  
the social standards of an earlier generation or of a lower so  
of second-generation rejection of parents need to be more c  
n alienation from old-country ways and alienation from nonet  
between parents and children

to Peters, from Rosenberg to Rose)—is one of inter-generational rejection of ethnicity.<sup>45</sup> The ethnic identification of third-generation immigrants is a continuing controversy. Historian Marcus Hansen formulated the "law of third-generation return" to the country, rejected by the second generation, tends to be true.<sup>46</sup> Herberg took up this thesis in a revisionist analysis of Americanism rather than national origin identification.<sup>47</sup> In essence, known as the Hansen-Herberg thesis, the grandchild tends to honor what the child of the immigrant has forgotten or rejected, or separate national or religious identity. The explanation lies in the threat to individual identity prevailing in America. The second-generation persons felt the need to strive for Americanism for themselves by rejecting the ethnicity of their parents. The first-generation persons, secure in their Americanism, were not. The question they posed was: "What is it to be just to be an American. The question they posed was: 'What is it to be an American? To whom, or to what, do I belong? Many individuals in this line of thought, find themselves through identification with a group—whether a "people" based on religion, race, or ethnicity. The idea of a revival of ethnic identity in later generations has attracted considerable attention in recent sociological work. Much of the work on American Jews has seemed to make a case for this. The continuing decline in succeeding generations of the number of Jews who observe the traditional religious rituals, there is an increasing number of Jews in later generations who are interested in perpetuating their ethnic identity.

---

The tendency of celebrities—movie stars, etc.—to Anglicize their names is discussed in H. J. Hansen, *The Protestant Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1965). For tendencies among second-generation Slavic Americans, see Louis F. Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (New York: Harper, 1942).

Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*.

Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*.

Herberg makes the intriguing observation that religious affiliation is more important in those countries in which there is no single or dominant religion. He argues that religious affiliation can serve the "ethnic" function better than ethnicity. One's religion tends to differentiate him from other members of his society. See H. J. Hansen, *Can't They Be Like Us?*, p. 83. For a contrast to the religious situation in America, see R. F. Tomasson, "Religion Is Irrelevant in Sweden," *Transatlantic*, 1964, pp. 46–53, which describes a "one church" society in which religious affiliation is a qualification for social position.

consciousness in their children.<sup>49</sup> One indication of the tendency for Jewish children to receive some kind of special education is the fact that this increased Jewish identity is undoubtedly related to American society: to the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany, to the growth of the state of Israel as a symbol of Jewish achievement, and to the fact that a recent survey of university students in England finds that, while there is a decline in Jewish activity in later generations, there is a new identification of younger English Jews with the vicissitudes of Jewish life.<sup>50</sup> It is really impossible, then, to know how much of the Jewish ethnic identity in the United States is due to the Jewish "law" and how much to events occurring to the Jewish people.<sup>51</sup>

A new ethnic revival is also being noted, and celebrated, among groups known popularly as "white ethnics"—the predominantly non-Jewish groups in the United States. Novak notes an increasing ethnic consciousness among people who continue to feel alienated and increasingly to resent—the snobbery of the Protestant establishment.<sup>52</sup> In much the same tone, Greeley describes the expected persistence of ethnic consciousness, including a conscious effort by many young ethnics to identify with their roots through studies of the classic literature of the nation, through sentimental visits to the "old country" to see firsthand the ancestral homes.<sup>53</sup>

---

Shall Sklare, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969); Seymour Martin Lipset and Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans*; Lazerwitz, "Continuity, Change, and Identification in the Jewish Communities."

David Wasserstein, "Jewish Identification Among Students at Oxford," *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 13(December, 1971) 131–151. Also, see Ernest Krausz, "The Role of the Family in Jewish Identification," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 11(Diary, 1972) 1–10. For some reason, Irish-Americans, in the opinion of Father Greeley, are more prone to emotional identification with their distressed fellow Jews. Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, p. 168.

An analysis that is sharply critical of the Hansen-Herberg perspective on Jewish developments among American Jews, see Stephen A. Sharot, "The Jewish Community and American Jews," *British Journal of Sociology*, 24(June, 1973) 25–38. See also, Erik Erikson, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); and Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, pp. 148–152. Greeley describes the new conscious ethnic revival as a variety of "tribalism."

e Hansen-Herberg thesis, with its recent confirmation  
enged by several studies of other American ethnic  
s study of an Italian-American community in E  
ght line" decrease in the salience of ethnic consci  
through the third generations of group members.  
ts a similar finding in his study of the Polish-American  
ngeles.<sup>55</sup> In a foreword to the Sandberg study, Gans  
iled ethnic revival may reflect a renewed ethn  
g intellectuals, especially those Catholic intellectual  
k who are experiencing discrimination by the Anglo  
emic establishment and imagine that their fellow et  
ethnic consciousness.

Recent study of Italian and Irish ethnic groups in Pr  
d, suggests that this sense of insecurity may be shar  
of American Catholics.<sup>56</sup> Goering found that, in som  
een a steady decline in ethnic consciousness from  
ations. However, ethnic interest has emerged in the  
e rather negative sense familiar to analysts of recent  
g American "ethnics." White backlash against the  
civil rights movement and, more recently, again  
ead elements in American society has apparently b  
ese groups. Ethnic consciousness may be stimulat  
t from, or perhaps jealousy of, these groups who  
ving of the privileges they are claiming, especially in  
ices made by their ethnic ancestors to obtain the  
selves and their children. Goering summarized the fi  
a criticism of the view, implicit in most of the v  
e, that the ethnic American finds "refreshment" i  
ness: "The third generation does, indeed, return to  
ource of cultural or religious refreshment than as the  
e skepticism associated with discontent and racial

---

bert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press, 1962).

C. Sandberg, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation The Polish-A*  
York: Praeger, 1974).

M. Goering, "The Emergence of Ethnic Interests. A Case o  
c, 49(March, 1971):379-384.

ring, "The Emergence of Ethnic Interests " p 383



Glazer's analysis of renewed ethnicity in America develops a different reason for this revival.<sup>58</sup> After noting the failure of ethnic groups to transplant a European national culture, Glazer suggests that the recent revival of ethnic consciousness is a renewed interest in the national fate of their countries, an interest among Polish-Americans in what is happening in Poland. In the same way, O'Connor shows the heightened nationalism felt by German-Americans at the outbreak of World War I, as a consciousness marked by much ambivalence toward the German conductor of an American symphony orchestra playing the national anthem on the day of the declaration of war against Germany and the United States and Germany in 1917. At the conclusion of the concert, tears in his eyes, announced to the audience, "But I am on this side."<sup>60</sup> Traumatic events or the threat thereof were experienced by European and Asian countries during World War II, and these countries were unlikely to forget their national origins. It was happening to their compatriots in their countries, and they knew whether their hearts lay with America or with their native country across the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean.

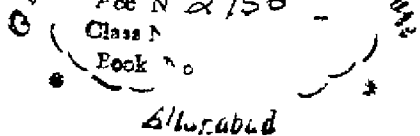
## Social Class

Individuals at different levels of social respectability—those who differ considerably in the degree of importance they attach to their ethnic affiliations. In trying to generalize about this relationship, the most sensible sociological proposition would be this: the more an individual occupies a relatively inferior status position in a social hierarchy, the more likely it is that persons in lower-class positions within that ethnic group will tend to identify themselves with their social class rather than with their ethnic status. A number of sociological studies of ethnic groups have found that it is more likely for higher-class persons in ethnic groups to attempt to distance themselves from a derogated ethnic group. This finding, however, could reasonably be inferred from data reported in the following studies.

---

Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ethnicity," in Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (ed.), *Freedom and Control* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), pp. 158–173.

O'Connor, *The German Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), p. 406.



in "Yankee City,"<sup>61</sup> West Indian immigrants to Greater Los Angeles, <sup>62</sup> Hungarian immigrants to the United States,<sup>64</sup> and Mexican-Americans in the south.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps the best known study that supports the proposition of the social behavior of the black middle class in the United States is that of Frazier. According to Frazier, this black bourgeoisie adopted middle-class life styles with a vengeance. Sometimes their efforts to imitate the life styles of the white middle class, since the financial and social pressures to maintain a middle-class life style are somewhat similar to those of the white middle class. These middle-class blacks read *Ebony* (which is called a black version of *Life*), which features success stories and advertisements that emphasize the selling of beauty products, and other aids to help the black person achieve a more "respectable" physical appearance or life style.

*Black Bourgeoisie* was published in 1957—before the civil rights movement of the 1960s, before blacks began to identify themselves with the growth of identification of blacks with the term "Afro-American" (The label "Afro-American" has only recently been used.) If these movements have had their intended effect of removing the stigma from black identity,<sup>67</sup> then, according to Frazier, with which we started, there should be less tendency

Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

W. E. B. Dubois, *Class, London's Newcomers. The West Indian Migrants* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

Samuel H. Hays, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation*.

Alexander Weinstock, "Some Factors that Retard or Accelerate the Process of Assimilation," *Human Relations*, 17(1964):321-340.

Reflected, for example, in the tendency of middle-class Mexican-Americans to use the label "Hispanic-American" for themselves, partly because, apparently, they do not want to be identified with "Mexicans" of a lower class. Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and others, *Hispanic-American People* (New York: Free Press, 1970), p. 386.

Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957). There is evidence of some change in black self-conceptions in this direction. In a study of black college students were shown pictures of people of different skin colors and asked to estimate the degree of ability of the pictured individuals. They chose as most able those individuals with intermediate shades of skin color, not those with very light or those with dark skins. See H. J. Hotzman, "The Black College Student," *Journal of Black Studies*, 4(September 1969): 1-10.

s to deemphasize the racial identity in order to m  
ect.  
me modification of the proposition being discusse  
deration of ethnic identity among people of very  
s. It appears that, in many situations, such persons a  
asize rather than to downplay their ethnic origi  
n this is the case seems to depend on whether th  
ion enjoys any degree of respectable status in the  
group members. Thus, in some New Mexico com  
respect for Mexican-American culture that the hig  
of this group tend to maintain strong identification  
nunities.<sup>68</sup> It has similarly been observed that na  
ent measure of ethnic nonidentification—is quite r  
ians and artists in the United States (because of the  
lians for excellence in these areas), while name  
ent among scientists of Italian origin (because of t  
ation in this area).<sup>69</sup> Similarly, refugee intellectu  
s often retain and perhaps cultivate a “thick” ethn  
e high status attributed to German academics.<sup>70</sup>

## Occupation

hough a person's occupation is usually treated as a r  
social-class position, there are often clear-cut diff  
rior among people who make up a given social cla  
broadly upper middle class, the typical college p  
l banker tend to be quite different in a number of wa  
is whether there are some occupations that are part  
favorable to promoting ethnic identity among those  
ation.

bably the most identity-enhancing occupations are  
tation for being dominated by members of a given

---

ld J. Silvers, “Structure and Values in the Explanation of Accultu  
of Sociology, 16(March, 1965):68–79.

ence F. Pisani, *The Italian in America* (New York: Exposition Pr

ld Kent, *The Refugee Intellectual* (New York: Columbia Univ

These Americans who decide to go into the laundry business or a Jew who decides to go into diamond merchandising, do so without any consciousness of ethnic affiliations. But the stereotype of the Chinese laundryman or Chinese merchant is so strong that the chosen occupation can be used by others to emphasize the individual's ethnicity. Perhaps for this reason that third-generation Jews, wishing to distance themselves from traditional symbols of Jewishness, attempt to work in occupations that are considered "Jewish."<sup>71</sup> In the same way, it is noted that younger Chinese in the Philippines have attempted to distance themselves from the distinctively "Chinese" occupation of tradesman by choosing occupations as the law or teaching.<sup>72</sup>

The association in the public mind of a given occupation with a particular ethnic group may take a unique form in a given local area. It is noted that at one time in Chicago there was a heavy concentration of Scandinavians among Great Lakes seamen, of Flemings among janitors, and of Jews among garment factory workers. In New York City, Puerto Rican immigrants have been employed by hotels as bellboys, maids, parking attendants, etc. In these cases has there been any apparent intrinsic reason for the concentration of ethnic group members in the given occupation. If not, they nevertheless have had the identity-enhancing effects discussed above. The effects of the stereotyping of ethnic group members in given occupations.

At the other extreme are occupations that seem to be unaffected by their effects on ethnic identity. Much of the writing, sociological, about ethnicity concerns the effect of an individual's occupation on ethnic identity—an understandable emphasis, since it is the occupation of most intellectuals. It was Mannheim's position that writers, artists, teachers, etc.—constitute the one exception to the general rule.

---

<sup>71</sup> R. Kramer and Seymour Leventman, *Children of the Gilded Age* (New York: University Press, 1961).

<sup>72</sup> T. F. Walker, *Ethnic Dynamics*, p. 110, 111.

<sup>73</sup> R. Pelling, *American Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

<sup>74</sup> J. Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration* (New York: Wood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

thought processes are determined by a person's social  
equations are drawn from *all* social strata, Mannheim  
interpenetration of special viewpoints that allows  
it, stand above the partisan ideological strife of those  
and vested social interests

The same point could be made about the *ethnic* aware-  
ness of the intellectual, a point that has often been  
lack of ethnic identity among engineers, lawyers, and  
people, found that professors were the most likely to ignore  
their occupation without regard to the ethnicity of  
of Jewish professors in the Boston area found that  
variability in the matter, the great majority of profes-  
sors between honoring a professional obligation to teach  
professional convention, etc., and fulfilling the religious  
on a Jewish holiday, would decide in favor of the profes-  
sion.<sup>77</sup> Gordon characterizes American intellectuals as  
defining its membership, in the manner suggested by Mannheim  
elements of the society.<sup>78</sup> Greeley goes a bit further  
intellectuals as an "ethnic group" with a consciousness  
set apart, and with a great deal of animosity and  
toward them," the nonintellectuals.<sup>79</sup> Both Greeley and Mannheim  
and Catholic layman, respectively, comment with  
the tendency of fellow professors and other liberal intelli-  
gents of a profoundly ethnocentric lack of sympathy with the mer-  
cenary ethnic groups, even while lavishing their sympathy  
on them. Both these writers suggest that the well-advertised  
"melting pot" of white ethnic Americans may be based at least

---

Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, trans. by Edward A. Shils and  
Karl Mannheim (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1936).

David L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky, "From Religious Community  
to Structural Assimilation Among Professors, Lawyers and Engineers,"  
*American Review*, 32(August, 1967) 541-561.

Isaac L. Friedman, "Jewish or Professional Identity? The Priorities  
in Different Situations," *Sociological Analysis*, 32(Fall, 1971) 149-157.

Robert M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, pp. 224-232, 254-257.

Walter Dill Scott, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*

Robert M. Gordon, *Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*.

ic" snobbery of the American intellectual.<sup>81</sup> Greeley  
possibility that the intellectual, rather than being "d  
on suggests, has taken on a hidden "ethnic" identity  
tist group.

e analysis above refers to intellectuals from the  
c groups. There might be a quite different pattern of  
among intellectuals from the more disadvantaged et  
acks, Chicanos, and American Indians, in the Un  
groups, intellectuals are among the most visible  
late spokesmen of ethnic consciousness.<sup>82</sup> Black  
and writers have been the backbone of the movem  
identity, whether these movements are expressed  
t demands for social equality or separatist demands  
A similar point could be made for the leadership  
ements in the Third World: the leaders of anti-W  
ements are, ironically, largely men who have been e  
universities.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps the experience of being disc  
pecially productive of intellectual creativity. Perhaps  
r markets for their "ideas" in the resentment of op  
ever the explanation, it seems clear that the remov  
ethnic identity is *not* an accurate description for m  
on the social-status totem pole.

Intellectuals are not alone among people in middle-c  
may experience pressures away from ethnic identity

---

ley thus comments with some asperity on the tendency of An  
in the belief that Catholics seldom engage in academic careers  
e evidence of a rising proportion of Catholics in academic careers  
er men and women Andrew M. Greeley, "The 'Religious Factor'  
s Another Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, 79  
1255 For further discussion of Greeley's viewpoint as expressed  
Humphreys, "The Religious Factor: Comment on Greeley's Con  
/ of Sociology, 80(July, 1974) 217-219, and Greeley's "reply,"  
ndians, see Robert C. Day, "The Emergence of Activism as a S  
rd H. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (eds.), *Nat  
York: Harper & Row, 1972); on blacks, see Harold Cruse, *The  
ctual* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), on Chicanos, see Joan  
icans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 148-15  
otsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, *Ethnic Stratification* (New York  
0, 451.*

Hungarian refugees, Weinstock indicates that occupations are distinguished by their degree of emphasis on central or peripheral elements."<sup>84</sup> A laboratory technician would illustrate an occupation dominated by central-role elements, since a person's success is pretty much a matter of simple technical performance. A scientist, a man or a business executive may find that all kinds of peripheral elements enter into the determination of his occupational success: personal appearance, manner of speaking, maybe even the lack thereof of his wife. Weinstock accordingly hypothesized that the centrality of central elements is most tenuous in those situations in which peripheral elements are dominant.

---

<sup>84</sup>S. Alexander Weinstock, "Role Elements: A Link Between Acculturation and Status," *British Journal of Sociology*, 14(June, 1963):144-149. Weinstock also hypothesized that peripheral elements accelerate acculturation.

# CHAPTER 2

## ETHNIC LIFE STYLES

### THE WAY OF THE PEOPLE

The very term *ethnic group* suggests that an ethnic people is characterized in terms of a culture or life style that distinguishes members of that group. To be a Navaho or an Afrikaner means, in other things, to adhere to a Navaho "way" or an Afrikaner way of thinking and acting.

The great variability of these cultural ways among different peoples has been extensively documented in anthropological and scientific studies of human behavior. This is the theme of W. G. Sumner's classic *Folkways*<sup>1</sup> and of Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*.<sup>2</sup>

Most of this variability is undoubtedly the result of the isolation of one people from another and of differential adaptations to environmental conditions in these isolated locales. But it can also be shown

---

<sup>1</sup>W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn, 1906).

<sup>2</sup>Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Mentor, 1959).



by having the same gene a lot to rely and subjected to various conditions may develop or maintain additional values different from one another. An extended study that illustrates the investigation by an anthropologist and a sociologist in Mexico called "Rimrock."<sup>3</sup> In one small area are four communities, each dominated by a different ethnic group: Anglo (often called "Anglo" in the Southwest), Mexican, Mormon, and American. These communities vary sharply in the general values that were of interest to the investigators. They differ in the degree of individualism vs. concern for the welfare of the group incorporated in their ways of life. They also differ on the values that dominate the group's thinking. Some ethnic groups are "past-oriented," defining as their ideal the fullest possible degree of enjoyment of life, while others are "future-oriented," devaluing the present in the interest of preparing for the future. Variations in these cultural values had profound implications for the ability of each group to deal with conditions in their environment that all the groups shared. The Texan and Mormon contrast with the other three, were future-oriented. However, the life style of the Texans was much more individualistic than that of their Mormon neighbors so that, while the Texans were interested in projects to improve their future economic situation, they were less able than the Mormons to get together on projects to accomplish this better future.

In another sort of "community" with several coexisting ethnic groups, one can see the same kind of tendency for differences, mediated by the perspectives provided by tradition. In a Veterans Administration hospital in New York City, researchers found that members of four ethnic groups—Jewish-Americans, Italian-Americans, and "Old Americans"—differed in their patterns of "pain behavior," and that these behaviors reflected general cultural themes in the life style of each ethnic group. The "Old Americans," a future-oriented group of patients, treated pain as a signal to seek medical assistance, and they expressed a strong desire for relief.

---

3. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations* (New York: Free Press, 1961).

4. Zborowski, *People in Pain* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).

the expression was necessary to help medical people. The Jewish patients, though equally future oriented about their future state of health) were more persistent of medical people to make helpful diagnoses. They were prone to express pain as a way of eliciting the sympathy of their families. The Italian-Americans, reflecting the "suffering and endurance" theme in Italian culture, saw the suffering and inactivity as spoiling their enjoyment of life (for example, not eating good food). They complained loudly about the pain, and when it was done to relieve it, after which, in the words of the study, they became very "sweet" patients. The Irish-Americans, like the Italians, were relatively quiet about their pain. Their attitude reflected the characteristic stoicism in Irish culture whereby males show their strength by showing that they can "take it" when faced with pain. The two studies just reviewed illustrate the fact that different life styles may have many consequences for the social behavior of people who adhere to these life styles. Partly for this reason, the study of ethnic life styles, how they differ and how they underlie behavior, is a matter of interest to students of human behavior far beyond the specialty of the specialist in the study of ethnic groups.

## **CULTURATION**

As long as ethnic peoples live in isolation from one another, except for casual or intermittent contacts of the tourist or the foreigner, we expect that ethnic life styles, evolved over long years, will maintain the rightness of "the way," will be maintained from generation to generation. When the outside contact becomes more permanent, when people who have inhabited a territory are invaded and their territory taken by foreign people, or when people of one ethnic group move into a region of permanent residence in territories dominated by other ethnic groups, more radical changes in traditional life styles may occur. This adoption of alien ways, called the process of acculturation, has probably been the major focus of interest in the study of ethnic groups.

The reason for this interest has been the frequent observation that acculturation may have devastating consequences for the traditional life style to fulfill the needs or desires of people in the new environment. This acculturating process. According to this view, the traditional life style represented a delicate adaptation of a people to the environment.

ence. When alien cultural traits are introduced, the preexisting integration of cultural elements. An example, may have been seriously disorganized by the European cultural traits as the concept of private horse for transportation, the drinking of intoxicants, the use of firearms in the settlement of disputes.<sup>5</sup> T growing up in a tribal way of life in which there is of meanings of different social experiences, is confused introduced to European life styles that he encounters employee in a South African diamond mine.<sup>6</sup>

one of the more obvious facts about the acculturation process is that only some of the alien ways of groups with whom contact are adopted as ways of the group. Anthropologists have noted this selective tendency in the acculturation process. "Cultural diffusion" is more rapid with some cultures than with others.<sup>7</sup> American Indians, for example, borrowed such things as the horse for travel and of gunpowder for war. They adopted European styles of religious or political belief. The explanation for this selective acculturation has been the utility of different cultural items to an acculturating people. European firearms were enriching additions to traditional Indian warfare, making possible an expansion on well-established patterns of life.<sup>8</sup> The more subtle aspects of European culture were not so obvious for the Indians. In addition to this selective tendency in acculturation, this section will outline, in less well-articulated principles, the outlines of what has emerged from the extensive body of research on acculturation of specific ethnic groups.

A promising approach to the matter of selective acculturation analyzes the problems of social adjustment of ethnic populations in proximity to members of other ethnic groups. India, Australia, the United States and Canada, natives and Commonwealth countries, the British Isles—in these and countless other situations, the problem is partly one of getting along by making whatever adjustments in life style are necessary. If nothing else, linguistic adjustments must find a common language for intergroup communication. These sorts of adjustments in intergroup or interethnic relations tend to fall most heavily on the weaker parties to the relationship. The problem is largely one of subordinate ethnic groups making adjustments to the life styles of dominant groups. At the end of the chapter, it will be useful to keep in mind the distinction between two kinds of ethnic group contact in the world. *Migrant superordination*, an invading ethnic group establishing dominance over the people in an invaded territory, typically subjecting them to the status of colonial subjects. In these situations, the problem of the colonized is that of acting—or appearing to act—as if they will not bring down the wrath of the power. In the case of *indigenous superordination*, members of an ethnic group come to a new country not as invaders, but as immigrants, submitting themselves to the control of the “charter groups”<sup>10</sup> who already have dominance over the territory. The adjustment problem for immigrants is likely to be that of adopting enough of the values of the “establishment” to enable themselves to make a living, find a place, and a city, etc.

These kinds of “adjustment” motives for acculturation involve the adoption of the more superficial or surface elements of the dominant culture: language, style of dress, and public “manners” of the dominant group, as required by the subordinate ones. Among Jews there is a saying, “He doesn’t look Jewish!” The fact is, however, that even assimilated Jews, or other ethnics, tend not to look ethnic (unlike the basis of racial basis to the ethnicity); nevertheless, they do make adjustments of ethnic life style in the matter of basic values.

essed in the privacy of relations with others of their  
iders are often unaware of these subtleties of una  
yles and are surprised, for example, to learn that the  
dian life style among a people who, to all appe  
tured.<sup>11</sup> This lack of appreciation by outsiders of a  
yle is sometimes used to argue, for example, that  
rstand "soul," or that only a Slavic-American can  
city.<sup>12</sup>

members of a number of subordinate ethnic group  
ency toward a surface level of acculturation to m  
ntage their relations with their ethnic "superiors"  
hite folks manner" affected by southern blacks to  
hites even though among themselves they ridicule  
den Berghe, writing on acculturation among Africa  
rn of native conformity to the ways of their colo  
er of expediency, a conformity to specific norms wit  
ges in traditional values.<sup>14</sup>

ccurring as it often does at this surface level, such  
ly produces "bicultural" individuals who can get a  
group by shifting their behavior when in one gr  
Mayer describes the African native who can affect  
n" and revert easily to traditional tribal ways wh  
nds.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, McFee reports a pattern of behavior

---

thaftig and Thomas comment on the striking ignorance of mo  
ce in their state of a flourishing traditional Indian culture, an ig  
have acquiesced as a condition of tolerance for their continu  
aftig and Robert K. Thomas, "Renaissance and Repression: The C  
action, 6(February, 1969):42-48.

critical reaction to what is seen as a "Balkanization of politica  
which one critic sees as implicit in such assumptions of the "new  
"A Fever of Ethnicity," *Commentary*, 53(June, 1972) 68-73  
Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (Garden City, N Y  
e L. van den Berghe, "Toward a Sociology of Africa," *Social For*  
o Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen Conservatism and the Pro*  
uth Africa City, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 19  
ilar way the behavior of some Italian-Americans in Chicago wh  
their neighborhood. While at work they are without much Italia  
their return from work they are "obliged to reassume their old w  
les, *Social Order of the Slum Ethnicity and Territory in the*  
ity of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 105

feet Indians of Montana retain tribal ways while trying to acculturated white ways.<sup>16</sup> Middle-class Mexican-Americans in the Southwest reportedly attempt to develop the "bicultural" ideal of speaking both good English and good Spanish.<sup>17</sup> Like the case of French Canadians in Montreal, how this biculturalism is perpetuated over several generations.<sup>18</sup> Although most immigrants learn English as a second language in order to adjust to the new conditions, those who learn English in this manner typically do not, as most ethnic groups in the United States, transmit the language to their children as a "first language"; rather, the use of French as the primary language is maintained through several generations.<sup>19</sup>

Another basis for selective acculturation is the fact that certain ethnic ways can more easily be retained, because their practice does not jeopardize the ethnic's accommodation to the dominant culture pattern. American Jews, for example, have maintained traditional ritual observances (kosher food practices, Sabbath, etc.) are detriments to easy adjustment to the new environment, and most such practices decline with acculturation. Acculturation involves those religious observances that fit easily into the dominant patterns. The increased celebration of Hanukkah, formerly a minor Jewish holiday, reflects the ease with which it can be integrated into the dominant patterns.

---

Colm McFee, "The 150% Man, a Product of Blackfeet Acculturation," *Anthropologist*, 70(December, 1968):1096-1103. On a similar theme among adolescent boys on a Fox Indian reservation, see Steven Feierman, "Squakie Teenage Boys," *American Anthropologist*, 62(April, 1960):1-10. For a discussion of the mutual images and expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans, see E. V. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," *Daedalus*, 90(Spring, 1961):286-299.

For a discussion of bilingualism in Montreal, see E. V. Lieberman, "Bilingualism in Montreal: A Demographic Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 30(July, 1965):10-25.

A similar pattern for Mexican-Americans in San Antonio, Texas, is reported by E. V. Lieberman, "Language Maintenance Among Mexican-Americans," *Interpretive Sociology*, 11(December, 1970):272-282; and for the German- and Romansch-speaking peoples of Switzerland in Kurt Mayer, "Linguistic Equilibrium in Switzerland," *American Sociological Review*, 20(June, 1955):311-321.

Shalom Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), chap. 3; Sidney Goldstein and Calvin C. Tjebk, *American Jews: Three Generations in a Jewish Community* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), chap. 9.

be related to the observance of Christmas by American Indians. Another instance of this kind of adaptation of ritualistic cultural patterns has been found in a Shoshone Indian tribe. As very ritualistic people, the Shoshoni have been changing a number of their ritual events on the national holiday, the Fourth of July.<sup>22</sup>

Acculturation selectivity also arises from the fact that individuals are not equally exposed to all aspects of the dominant groups. Colonized people are exposed to a group that may be a rather special breed in their countries of origin. Those with first exposure to alien contacts are likely to be interpreters, police officials or labor contractors.

The case of selective acculturation based on selective exposure has been reported for a group of Navaho Indians in the United States.<sup>23</sup> Navaho men, somewhat ironically in light of the long history of Indian conflict, tend to affect cowboy dress and participate actively in rodeo events. This life style is, of course, a Western subculture, sometimes referred to as "drugstore cowboy." Navaho men seem to outdo whites in their interest in these activities. It is suggested that this is explainable by the severe isolation of the Navahos and the fact that, in their infrequent trips to town, they are attending a rodeo or some other cultural event celebrating the "Wild West." The Indians of the American West may have a biased view of white American life styles, just as many Americans gain a slanted view of American life through the influence of Westerns among exported Hollywood films. Further extension of this line of analysis should generate that some ethnic group members *do* experience a more intimate acculturation. The day-to-day behavior of persons from other ethnic groups may undergo mental changes in life style will occur. This interpretation is consistent with the findings of a study of acculturation of Mandan Indians.

---

Goldstein and Greenblum, *Jewish Identity*, pp. 55-59, Goldstein and Greenblum, *Immigrants and Americans*, pp. 201-203.

22. Harris, "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada," in Linton (ed.), *American Tribes*, pp. 108, 109.

23. F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Models as a Determinant of Acculturation Among the Pinon Navajo," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 36:3 (1963) pp. 53-67.

white ways in a very basic feature of traditional life, the emphasis on interpersonal generosity.<sup>24</sup> Bruner found that in which there was a significant movement away from generosity, there was an intermarriage with a white person. Indians who adhered to the traditional generosity were exposed to such intimate acquaintance with an "outsider."

## **variations in Ethnic Acculturation**

Whether an ethnic group preserves its traditional life style or selectively under the influence of contact with another is usually a matter of great variation. This variation can be explained with two observations: (1) There is variation in the degree to which ethnic groups are expected to conform to the direction of the life styles of the dominant groups. (2) There is variation in the tendency of different ethnic groups to acculturate or to preserve traditional ways. These two directions will now be examined.

**variations between societies.** Whether or not an ethnic group changes in the life styles of its members when under contact with an alien culture depends partly on the willingness of the dominant groups to encourage assimilation of subordinate ones, and partly on the capacity of the subordinate groups to meet these expectations. Gordon discusses this variation in the history of the United States.<sup>25</sup> The ideology of *Anglo-conformity* holds that all ethnic groups acculturate to the dominant life style of the country. *Cultural pluralism* involves the expectation that all ethnic peoples will retain their traditional ethnic ways. These ideologies derive partly from contrasting points of view as to the best for societal functioning. *Dominant-group conformity* is a new term to *Anglo-conformity* that will cover o

---

ward M. Bruner, "Primary Group Experience and the Process of Acculturation," *Current Anthropologist*, 58(1956) 53-67. For a broad discussion of the effects of acculturation on Indian tribes, as well as the reverse process of "Indianization" of non-Indians, see A. Irving Hallowell, "American Indians, Visions of the Past and of Transculturalism," *Current Anthropology* 4(December 1963) 5-14.

on *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford U.



by a view of society that approaches the totalitarian. One can be on the one hand, one has a value system to which a people's consensus is a vital condition of societal existence, and a total control or constraint to insure that "deviant" ways are not tolerated. As an ideology, pluralism is most often adhered to as a democratic view of society in which the individuals have the freedom to pursue any life style that they wish (provided it inflicts no harm on others), and in which every individual has the opportunity to be represented when decisions are made about social action.<sup>26</sup>

Even though most Americans conceive of their country as a land of freedom, the expectation of Anglo-conformity has been a recurrent theme in the history of ethnic groups in the United States. This is reflected at the level of official policy by the legislation that restricted immigration and, in the 1920s, set immigration quotas against immigration from eastern and southern Europe, to which peoples were less desirable because they were not familiar with Anglo-Saxon cultural ways.<sup>27</sup> Although this was the result of rigorous lobbying by groups with vested interests, for example, the Ku Klux Klan, there was broad popular support for this legislation. It reflected a trend in the American mentality that surfaced in the nineteenth century: a fear of the influence of "alien" ways and a suspicion of subversive conspiracies organized by those who were different. The expectation of dominant group conformity is not limited to the United States; it is a kind of indigenous superordination experienced in many of the United States and other countries. Similar variations

---

For a discussion of these contrasting viewpoints, see Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *American Sociological Review*, 1963, 685-705.

George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Basic Books & Row, 1972), pp. 114-123.

For a description of the large number of groups in opposition to the dominant group, see Roger Daniels and Spencer Olin, Jr. (eds.), *Racism in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 55-180.

For a description of the strongly antiforeign sentiment that attended the riot in Chicago in 1879, see Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (eds.), *The American Dream and the Urban Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 10-11.

izing migrations. The problem for colonizers has been in getting sufficient control of the natives to make possible exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonies, reflecting perhaps the democratic ethos of the colonial policy of "indirect rule." Under this policy, the natives were to maintain their traditional life styles with, for example, traditional native bodies that made and enforced the laws in terms of traditional customs and traditions.<sup>30</sup> Dutch policy has been similar to the British, whereas Spanish, Portuguese, and French policies have been more of an effort to remake native life styles in the image of the colonizers. Van den Berghe makes the point, however, that such differences tend to have little effect on actual practice. In fact, all colonies in Africa were as "indirectly" ruled as the British colonies in the Americas were as thoroughly as the Portuguese, French, and Spanish ones.<sup>31</sup> The crucial difference, Van den Berghe believes, is that, in Africa, Europeans were able to overwhelm the natives (except in South Africa), thus culture change was treated as a matter of expediency. In the Americas, natives were quickly decimated by a combination of the white man's gun and his diseases. Europeans therefore had the power to impose their life styles on the natives.<sup>32</sup> On occasion, colonizers have vacillated in their policies, especially in conquered territories. The attitude of the United States toward the native Indian population illustrates the vacillations of ambiguous policy and of second and third thoughts about

---

Franklin Frazier, *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 191-202.

30. L. van den Berghe, "Racialism and Assimilation in Africa and the Americas," *American Journal of Anthropology*, 19(Winter, 1963):424-432. It might be noted that these policy differences between British and French colonialism are not always reflected in actual practice in, for example, the West Indies, where the British and French Martinique contrast with the more pluralistic tendencies of the French colonies in the same area. Chester L. Hunt and Lewis Walker, *Ethnic Diversity in the West Indies* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Press, 1974), chap. 7.

31. The decimation of native peoples has been shown to have occurred among the native peoples of North America but also among the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand. A. Grenfell Price, *White Settlers and Native Peoples of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1950). The devastating effect on the natives of one kind of "Europeanization" is the grim irony of the observation that what the Europeans brought to the natives was a process of Europeanization.



or scattered that acculturation is no issue for them. He notes that German migrants to Australia in the nineteenth century had no "Anglo" or other dominant group whose culture they had to adopt, so they had no choice but to set up institutions on Australian soil.<sup>39</sup> Once British domination was established, however, later immigrant groups such as the Italians were under pressures to adopt these Anglo ways. In a study of Italian immigrants in the United States who settled in the West rather than the East, F. F. Rolle observed the similar point that Italians in the West were relatively free from Anglo-conformity pressures, so they remained in the West for a relatively long time.<sup>40</sup> Not all frontier situations are equally conducive to reducing group conformity. If members of an immigrant group are in a broad frontier, they will be less able to import their own culture. Glazer thus contrasts the failure of German-Americans (because of their scattered pattern of settlement) to establish a "German-American" identity in America and the relative success of the Irish-Americans and of the Mormons in establishing such identities. Other societies noted for their tolerance of ethnic diversity may be one in which there are two or more dominant groups, one of which is able clearly to establish its right to provide the acculturation of immigrant peoples. The well-known pluralistic society is probably related to the bicultural character of the United States, English and French.<sup>42</sup> Some cities are noted for having populations so ethnically heterogeneous that there is really no one standard for the acculturation of immigrants. According to Glazer and Moynihan, this heterogeneity is one of the reasons for ethnic groups in New York City to "melt" into the majority culture.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, in a study of Mexican-Americans

---

D. Borne, *Italians and Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: F. W. Pines, 1964); F. F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Irving L. Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ethnicity," in Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (eds.), *Freedom and Conformity* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), pp. 158-173.

Anthony H. Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada," *Immigration Review*, 5(Fall, 1969):5-24.

Irving L. Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (New York: Basic Books Press, 1970).

na it is suggested that one reason for the lack of acculturation among certain ethnic groups is the city's polygamous mixture of ethnic populations, blacks, Puerto Ricans—indeed almost everyone except the Anglo-Saxon Protestants who are so often characterized as the holders of Anglo-conformity.<sup>44</sup>

**Relations between ethnic groups.** Any generalization about dominant group conformity in a given society is heavily qualified by the fact of variation between the ethnic groups in that society. By way of explanation of these differences, we define three kinds of variables—exposure, sensitivity,

**Exposure.** Acculturation assumes a degree of contact between cultures with diverse life styles, whether this contact involves direct presence or less direct hearsay stories that are told from one culture to another. It must be noted, however, that even people with the physical means at hand to be informed about the ways of another culture may be isolated from actual effective contacts. Several types of such isolation are described below.

First, ethnic groups who might provide the model for acculturation may deliberately conceal basic features of their culture, in effect, intended or unintended, of preventing their information from reaching the relatively few well-educated African Americans in the United States or former colony may find a high degree of exclusiveness in their intimate contact with colonists of higher status. This exclusiveness is symbolized, for example, among the French-speaking people of Dakar, Senegal, who found ways of segregating themselves into exclusive parts of the city.<sup>46</sup>

---

Samora and Richard Lamanna, "Mexican-Americans in a Multicultural Society," in E. Segal (ed.), *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 230–242.

Super, *An African Bourgeoisie. Race, Class and Politics in South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

Mercier, "The European Community of Dakar," in Pierre L. van den Berghe (ed.), *Social Problems of Change and Conflict* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 115–125.

cond ethnic groups may discourage the r own acc by so ating themselves in some degree from con de their own group. The development of enclav ng to maintain an "old country" life style can partly asis.<sup>47</sup> Even more clearly, radical religious sects (in Amish, Hutterites, and Mormons, for example) ma d their children from the acculturating influence c schools in their areas. Sometimes these sects ous conflict with people from the dominant cult ict depending somewhat on whether dominant gro al pluralism prevails in the area.<sup>48</sup> If forced to mal turating forces, these groups tend to limit the conce ble.<sup>49</sup> Thus, Hutterites in the United States and Can isfying government education requirements by ma school" alongside the ethnically oriented "German ain a tight rein on the English teacher's relations w apless "school marm" become a source of corruptio

rd, apart from any specific intention of such isolati ion of ethnic group members may minimize contac oncentration of Chinese-Americans in the laundry l ibed as having an isolating effect on the laundry s him in contact with non-Chinese only in the sterec ashee" relation of customer and small business ov

---

ner, *The American Minority Community*, pp. 79, 80

search of a Hutterite colony for a congenial environment, which Canada and Mexico successively, and are now looking for ca, is described in Harry L. Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country* (California Press, 1971)

he "bending" of Hutterite rules under the pressure for Anglo-c "Controlled Acculturation: A Survival Technique of the Hutterit 'Review, 17(June, 1952):331-340

A. Hostetler and Gertrude E. Huntington, *The Hutterites in Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp. 98-100, John W. Benne Alto, Calif. Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 101.*

C. P. Siu, "The Isolation of the Chinese Laundryman," in E d J. Bogue (eds.), *Contributions to Urban Sociology* (Chicago 1964). pp. 429-442

gang employment of Mexican Americans as menial kinds of employment has had such an isolating effect.

*Activity.* As any frustrated professor knows who expects to find reading and lecture material only to discover that the student's exposure is a necessary but not a sufficient condition, there must be a sufficient level of motivation and identification with the learning process.

Members of many ethnic groups maintain a greater identification with the ways of their ethnic group than with the new ways to which they are exposed. A number of observers of efforts to teach the values and life styles of middle-class Anglo-Saxon life styles to American Indians have noted this kind of resistance to acculturation. They have not err in attributing educational backwardness to the lack of interest in the homes of Indian children when, in fact, their resistance is to a cultural heritage to which the Anglo school curriculum is largely irrelevant.<sup>53</sup>

Observers of acculturation among immigrant groups to the United States have often commented on the variation in degree of receptiveness to Anglo-conformity. One factor in this variation can be the different intentions of ethnic groups in immigrating to the United States. Some, like the Jews, Armenians, and Italians, have "burned their bridges behind them" with no intention of ever returning to their countries of origin.<sup>54</sup> Others, like the Poles, Greeks, Poles, and French Canadians in "Yankee

---

Howard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexican-Americans in the United States: Social Differentiation," *Sociology and Social Research*, 36(January-February, 1951), 1-12.

Canadian Indians, see A. D. Fisher, "White Rites Versus Indian Rites," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 7(February, 1969) 29-33, and Charles W. Hobart, "Eskimo Education," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 7(February, 1969) 34-38. For American Indians, see Robert V. Dumont, Jr., and Murray L. Wax, "Challenges to the Intercultural Classroom," *Human Organization*, 28(Fall, 1968), 25-31. A. Chadwick, "The Inedible Feast," in Howard M. Bahr, Bruce G. Trigger, and C. Day (eds.), *Native Americans Today* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 45.

Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Indians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 106.

andans in Burlington Vermont<sup>55</sup> to an Americans group  
s in New York City,<sup>57</sup> the Chinese in California  
East Asia,<sup>58</sup> the Irish in Britain,<sup>59</sup> and the Mexican-  
go, Indiana,<sup>60</sup> maintain a "sojourner" attitude toward  
new country. Since they intend eventually to return to  
in the case of some Italian-Americans) "settle the  
back home,"<sup>61</sup> these people are little concerned if they  
ed by the strangers among whom they live.  
other source of continued sensitivity to "back home"  
continuous influx in some immigrant situations of  
cultured members of the particular ethnic group  
of Puerto Ricans in New York City or of Mexican  
parts of the United States furnishes members of the  
recurring reminders of life styles in their countries

s. The likelihood that members of ethnic groups will  
e styles of the dominant ethnic groups in their area is  
e relative statuses of the ethnic groups in question  
ance to adopt alien ways is based on a sense of  
own ethnic group. The haughty disdain of European  
primitive" ways of the natives is a striking example.  
d States had attained political independence from  
Britons thought of Americans as inferior "colonies"

---

L. Anderson, *We Americans* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1955).  
Joseph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1968).  
Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968).

number of references to sojourner attitudes of "overseas Chinese".  
specific contrast of the attitudes toward immigration of Chinese  
China may be found in Stanford M. Lyman, "Contrast in the Cor  
Chinese and Japanese in North America," *Canadian Review of  
ology*, 5(May, 1968) 51-67.

Archer Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London: Routledge and  
Samora and Lamanna, "Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropol  
Lopreato, *Italian Americans*, p. 32.  
Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans*; Samora and Lamanna, "Me  
West Metropolis."



teenth century British immigrants to the United States  
of the Americans to be too un-British to be wor-  
tion.<sup>63</sup>

the other extreme are ethnic groups of derogated  
g enough to undergo acculturation, find that their a-  
nant-group ways expose them to ridicule and r-  
, Shoshoni Indians are more successful than the M-  
quiring the life style of a cowhand on an Anglo-r-  
Shoshoni are thought by the Anglos to be more c-  
thus Shoshoni are more readily accepted for ra-  
el to this situation is found in Canada, where the ac-  
Eskimo population are better received than are the  
e, largely, it seems, because the Eskimos are able to  
ct from the "Euro-Canadian" community.<sup>65</sup>

e reaction to such rejection by the dominant group  
sive reversion to traditional ethnic group ways as a  
ounds of rejection. A study of several different  
nts at the University of California, Los Angeles, fo-  
status of the country of origin was an important fac-  
se students toward American life. Those who expe-  
zens of "inferior" countries developed hostile atti-  
d States that made their acculturation more unlik-  
he same vein, Hannerz suggests that the "soul" ori-  
acks is a reaction to the numerous rebuffs blacks s-  
ites.<sup>67</sup> Thought to be a life style attainable only by b-  
superior style that assures the unsuccessful black t-  
ssful. If rejection of acculturation has this kind of e-

---

and T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 17  
d University Press, 1953), pp. 135-140.

on K. Tefft, "Task Experience and Intertribal Value Differences  
ation," *Social Forces*, 49(June, 1971), 604-614.

rt J. Dryfoos, Jr., "Two Tactics for Ethnic Survival, Eskimo and  
ry, 1970) 51-54

ard T. Morns, *The Two-Way Mirror* (Minneapolis: University

annerz, "The Rhetoric of Soul Identification in Negro Soci-  
53-465

at most of the exclusiveness of life styles among such groups originated in an earlier situation in which ethnic groups, unwilling to acculturate to another life style, have been "brought to the resolve not to repeat the mistake of attempting to do so in other ways."

## REVITALIZATION

Although the purity of ethnic life styles is often diminished by acculturation, sometimes it happens that ethnic groups develop a greater concern with the maintenance or revival of traditional life style. Since these movements usually follow a period of acculturation, they may be called "revitalization movements," attempts to recapture some of the traditional life style once taken so much for granted. Some of the revitalization movements has been discussed in the previous chapter under the heading "second-generation return." However, such revitalization movements are not limited to the behavior of third-generation immigrants, as is often claimed. In observing such recent developments in the United States, the revived interest of blacks in "black culture," of Americans in "Indian traditions," of Chicanos in "La Raza."

In the process of acculturation, revitalization is a process that tends to focus on those traits that are emphasized in the revitalization movement. Members or subsections of an ethnic group develop a renewed interest in those traits, they often must choose among several rather than all traditional traits. For instance, the recent Pan-Indian revitalization movement has as the symbol of what is Indian the war-bonneted Plains Indian—even though many tribes had no tradition of that way of life.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps it is because of the romanticized image of the Indian in the lore of the dominant society that Indian has become a highly honorable model as a symbol of a tradition that is lost. In the case of both the American Indian and the black American, it can probably be said in fairness that most of the members of these groups have no direct knowledge of the "tradition" they are trying to revive.

---

W. H. Linton, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 52, 1950, pp. 149-158.

recalls the recurring joke about the Indian tribe that  
ance and, when asked to do so by a visitor, mu  
ologist's earlier ethnographic account of this traditi  
expected role, perhaps, for the "defender of the tra  
thought he was studying natives for the benefit of s  
elf the tribe's own chronicler. Likewise it would see  
blacks have more than the vaguest notion of the co  
"Afro" culture with which their own life style is b  
which points up the fact that revitalization may be  
tion of the ethnic past of a group. The filter of time i  
ethnic person who is proud of his or her heritage b  
slightly the dead heroes being honored.

How and why do revitalization movements occur? Usi  
ving a period of serious disorganization resulting fi  
on by a group. A typical case is the formation of  
on, which centered around the vision of a Sene  
some Lake who, apparently in a drunken frenzy, r  
supernatural messages commanding Indians to give u  
as the use of intoxicants and to return to a purifi

The Ghost Dance religion, which swept in tw  
ern tribes in the 1870s and again in the 1890s,  
age of renunciation of white ways. The new relig  
widespread among those tribes that had experience  
turation to white ways and the most severe disrupti  
life styles.<sup>71</sup>

Another explanation, which involves more subtle psych  
ns, is Mason's view that the acculturating native in  
jected to a disillusioning process of "betrayal"  
ern ways on the implicit promise of personal adva  
ultimately that his Western mentors no longer beli  
are espousing for him.<sup>72</sup> This leads the acculturated

---

*Indian Americans*, pp. 136-138

ard Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," *Amer*  
5(1941):663-669. A more recent study similarly indicates that  
asured, for example, by the loss of the buffalo as a cultural res  
ence of those Plains Indian tribes in which the Ghost Dance f  
," "Revitalization Movements and Social Structure: Some Quant  
a/R 40(June, 1975):389-401

ed the black American disillusioned with  
behalf—to launch a “search for a peo  
nate in “traditionalist” movements that m  
of the ethnic past, such as the fantasies of  
hat blacks are descended from Islamic c

# CHAPTER 3

## ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Ethnic groups, like any other kind of human grouping, are viewed from a perspective that emphasizes the quality of relations among group members. In our understandable preoccupation with ethnic relations—what happens, for instance, when black meets Gentile—we are sometimes prone to forget that it is also interesting to understand some reasons for the great variety of ways in which people relate to their ethnic peers. The sociological concept of *community* seems to provide a good starting point for understanding ethnic intragroup relations. A human community, ethnically defined, involves at least two major notions about what constitutes a community: (a) a degree of *unity* among community members, reflected in feelings of comradeship and, often, feelings of hostility toward other ethnic communities; and (b) a strong *self-sufficiency* in the life of the community members, that is, a dependence of community members on one another and a relative independence from agencies outside the community.

These features of a human community represent characteristics found in varying degrees among different groups of people.

seems to fulfill all the criteria of community if tested stringently. On the other hand, no ethnic group has the isolation and self-sufficiency that it has none of the features of a true community is thus a *variable*, and the sociological generalizing about those conditions that encourage or discourage relationships among members of an ethnic group is

## ETHNIC UNITY AND CLEAVAGE

There is a tendency—as we shall discuss in Chapter 10—for ethnic groups in contact with one another to establish relationships of dominance and subordination between themselves, there should be a tendency for members of an ethnic group to be drawn together by their common persecution or by their common desire to stand front to maintain their dominance. This expectation is based on a familiar sociological principle: that outgroup conflict increases ingroup solidarity.<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Franklin gave classic expression to this principle for cohesion in time of crisis: “We must all hang together, or we will all hang separately.” On this consideration, we should expect a strong group feeling among peoples who nourish long historical memories of persecution, for example, European Jews for many generations, or peoples who have their grievances arising from unfulfilled treaties with neighboring peoples, or, likewise, people with a long history of colonial domination. Peoples who, for example, would be expected to feel strong solidarity as a result of a common “white man’s burden.”

But the matter of differential ethnic solidarity is more complex than is illustrated in the case of American Jews. Lewin discussed the pattern of feelings of Jewish people toward one another, including the sense of “self-hatred,” as evidenced by the fact, for example, that many people feel uncomfortable in the presence of other Jews, and may perceive the latter’s behavior as somehow “odd” or “strange.” The sense of “identification” of Jews with their Jewishness may lead to both positive or negative feelings toward fellow Jews found in the literature. People with a strong Jewish consciousness had negative

---

1. Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff and *The Web of Group-Meanings*, by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), see also Lewis A. Coseriu, *Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

2. Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper, 1948).

the Jews but also that there was even a slight positive  
between Jewish identification and anti-Semitic feelings.<sup>3</sup> In  
"ethnic" feelings have also begun to emerge in the state  
country, it has been noted, the early arrivals experienced  
Jewish solidarity by virtue of the extreme threat to the  
e. With some degree of "normalization" of life in the  
r, there has developed increased hostility between, first,  
European and of non-European (mostly North African)  
similar findings of negative or ambivalent attitudes toward  
e been reported for other "persecuted" ethnic groups.  
dom of Ruanda, numerically dominant Hutu people  
ally dominant Tutsi the view that the Tutsi monopolized  
er human qualities and the Hutu most of the worst  
ying American Negroes have developed a substantial  
ic preference. Earlier findings showed, for example,  
preferred white rather than black dolls when given the  
nt evidence has indicated a change in this pattern, a  
n to prefer black dolls, reflecting, perhaps, the impact  
ck is beautiful" theme in this ethnic group.<sup>7</sup> When  
ine to see themselves as occupying a derogated status  
quite realistic views of the value imputed to their eth-

---

h Adelson, "A Study of Minority Group Authoritarianism," in *Minority Social Patterns of an American Group* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1962), 192.

a T. Shuval, "Emerging Patterns of Ethnic Strain in Israel," *Social Forces* 32:323-330, Percy Cohen, "Ethnic Group Differences in Israel," *Race and Society* 10:10.

Mason, *Patterns of Dominance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 10.

For example, Mary Ellen Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1952). In a similar way, Indian children on an island have shown these feelings of inferiority in their preference for white over black dolls. Staff, Wilda Galloway, and Joanne Nixon, "Racial and Cultural Identification in Indian Children," *Phylon*, 34(December, 1973):368-377.

a Hrabá, "The Doll Technique: A Measure of Racial Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 1:522-527. For another indication of changed intragroup attitudes in this case a group of black college students who placed a higher value on "black Protestants" than on "white Protestants," see Craig K. Polite, Raymond C. Coates, and John H. Coates, "Ethnic Group Identification and Differentiation," *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 1:149-150.

man and Nahirny report that there is a tendency among foreign languages in the United States to rate French as the more honored foreign languages, and to rate Spanish as the less honored, if other than one of these three, in a group of languages.<sup>8</sup>

Self-hatred—or some milder variant of this attitude—exists in enough how many ethnic group members feel to cause serious problems. There is certainly enough variability in this feeling to interact with those factors or conditions that give rise to various attitudes of ethnic group members toward their peers. Scholars who have emphasized the various sources of factionalism that have caused disunity in some ethnic groups. These sources of cleavage will now be discussed.

### **Home-Country Factionalism and Immigrant Disunity**

The unity that one might expect in an ethnic group is often undermined by the privilege they share as immigrants in another country. This is especially true by the importation of home-country factional feelings into the new situation. Various Asian groups in Africa—Indians, Chinese, and others—occupied a precarious middle position of being disliked by both the natives and the European colonizers. However, as pointed out in writing about Indians in Africa, there is a sense of solidarity in the Indian community that reflects a microcosm of Indian society in the home country, such that "common victimization and stigmatization are enough to draw people together."<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the contention that the following World War I of the nation of Yugoslavia was caused by the division between Croatian-Americans who favored union with the United States and those who advocated an independent Croatia is a clear example of the effect of home-country factionalism on immigrant disunity. This effect is best be seen at its extreme, when the country of

---

Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School of Language Loyalty," in Joshua A. Fishman, et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 1966), pp. 92-136.

Van der Berghe, "Asians in East and South Africa," in van der Berghe, *Immigrant Disunity* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 276-303.

George J. Prpic, "The Croatian Immigrants in Pittsburgh," in John H. Coatsworth, *Immigrant Experience in Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1966), pp. 100-110.



izations had the major influence in the past and a chance to younger Japanese Americans that they should at which the principal attraction is a plentiful supply of soda water.<sup>15</sup>

A more familiar case in the United States is that of Italians. They have tended to be acutely aware of the differences between themselves and others. At the broadest level, there is a cleavage between North Italians, who have made between themselves, with middle-class educated bearers of the "classic" Italian civilization, and South Italians, whom they see as ignorant peasantry.<sup>16</sup> This cleavage goes much further than this, however. Italian nationalism is characterized by the notion of *campanilismo*, the view of the world as a world of strangers when he moves outside the sound of the church bell of his home village.<sup>17</sup> Although these distinctions are now "hardly more than a memory among immigrants,"<sup>18</sup> they persisted long enough, in Lopreato's view, to retard development among Italian-Americans of as much political and social mobility as they have expected in places like New York City, where they represented so large a part of the population.<sup>19</sup>

An interesting contrast can also be found in the degree of regional origins held by white and black southerners who move to northern American cities. White southerners—often differentiated "hillbilly" element by the native northerners—often have differentiated associations with fellow Kentuckians, Virginians, and blacks who move to northern cities show far less tendency to identify their state of origin; rather, their origin is seen as more

---

ry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese-Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 94.

North vs. South Italian cleavage was, for example, strikingly displayed in the Greenwich Village area during the 1920s. Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

ph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 15.

Glazer and Moynihan similarly indicate a lack of political power of Italian-Americans, but they attribute this political retardation to a slightly different cause, as opposed to Irish, to rise rapidly from lower to middle class. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

is M. K. Lian, *White Southerners* (New York: Random House, 1963).

as is the "soul" life style that tends to prevail in the north and south.<sup>21</sup> Thus is laid the basis of a unified "black" identity, but the inhibiting effects of differentiated regions cannot be ignored. Another interesting contrast has been suggested between the orientations of Italian-Americans and black Americans. Williams described a set of "communicative devices" employed by a group on Chicago's West Side that indicate a new kind of community: a language and a personal style that are cosmopolitan in their life styles, employing a language understood by almost any other black in the country, a sensitivity to fads and fashions in the wider community. In the same way, Williams has commented on the tendency of blacks to identify themselves with a general "black community" beyond its local community limits. A symptom of this cosmopolitanism, reported by Williams, for blacks to prefer a visiting team with black players over a hometown team with white players. Williams frequently pointed out, "black community" in the United States has weaknesses, the provincialisms that have retarded the development of other groups do not seem a major problem in the black community.

## Free of Acculturation

One of the more universal sources of cleavage within the black community is from the differences in the degree of acculturation. The black community is free of the life styles of the dominant groups. The

---

cosmopolitanism of the black community in Washington, D.C. (Hannerz, *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community* (University Press, 1969).

W. D. Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum* (Chicago: University Press, 1969).

For a similar analysis, see Hannerz, *Soulside*.

W. M. Williams, Jr., *Strangers Next Door* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967). There may be a parallel sense of "white community" among sports fans. For example, in the reluctance of white fans to support black-dominated teams. In 1966, a decision was made to reduce the number of black players on the National Basketball Association, the head coach of the team was quoted as saying, "We are simply not interested in paying to see an all Black team and we cannot support it." Harry Edwards, *The Sociology of Sports* (Harvard University Press, 1969).

c members tend to be ashamed of the "primitive" and "uncultured" peers. Blacks in the cotton-mill town of Kalamazoo are described as being divided fundamentally between the "unrespectable," respectability being defined in terms of middle-class white standards.<sup>25</sup> Members of an outcast group, the *cholas*, who are more acculturated to middle-class American life, are embarrassed by the ways of their more traditional peers.<sup>26</sup> Middle-class Mexican-Americans tend to hold the same stereotypes of lower-class Mexicans that are held by Anglo-Americans.<sup>27</sup>

Members of ethnic groups with more positive attitudes toward their life styles reserve some of their bitterest epithets for those who are seen as adopting dominant group ways of life to be gained for themselves. Black loyalists castigate "sell-outs" among them; American Indians, who have adapted to white society, are referred to as "Uncle Tomahawks." Mocking words of derision are sometimes found. For example, an American referred to as an Oreo cookie—black on the outside, white on the inside. Similarly, the ardently Chinese among Chinese-Americans refer to more acculturated kinsmen as bananas—yellow on the outside, white on the inside. The author has likewise heard some Indians referred to as "apple polishes" in their attitudes referred to as apples.

Any ethnic group that is aggressively seeking improved status is especially subject to this sort of cleavage. American Jews are a good example. According to a common interpretation of Jewish history in America, Jewish immigrants were forced into a position of low status and maintained high ambitions for an improved status for the next generation, especially through the route of better education.<sup>28</sup>

---

W. E. B. Dubois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899).

George DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, *Japan's Invisible Race* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

Frederic G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Negro-Americans," *Daedalus*, 90(1961):286-299.

Robert C. Day, "The Emergence of Activism as a Social Movement among Native Americans," in A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (eds.), *Native Americans Today* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 514.

Herberg refers to the "proletariat" in the context of the American social structure.

the extent that the rich children tended to acquire wealth at the expense of getting a reputation for being overly ambitious. The third generation, hoping to dispel this bad reputation by imitating the "tasteful" life style of their Gentile friends, had already "made it" in prestige terms.<sup>30</sup> Part of the making it consisted in a status-conscious move from a Jewish ghetto to a suburb where Jews live an acculturated life style and emphasize their "Jewishness," thus enabling them to gain acceptance by Gentiles. The difficulties in this tactic of status-consciousness are apparent in the much accelerated exodus of Jewish families leaving World War II. In a study of the midwestern Jewish community, Ringer found a pattern of rejection of the recent immigrants who had been established in the community for years. There were several related reasons for this rejection of the new Jewish residents. One was that the old-timers were from the north while the newcomers were from southern and eastern Europe, a distinction that mirrored the familiar prejudice of native Americans against the "old immigration" from northern and western Europe. Another was that the newcomers, city bred and perhaps new to affluence, had styles that were more those of the urbanite and not of the suburbanite of a more mellowed suburban style (some of "those who were described as wearing scanty or flashy clothing more appropriate to New York than to "Lakeville"). Finally there was the objection to the new Jews moving in,<sup>33</sup> the fear being that the community would lose its "Jewish" character, with attendant loss of prestige and status in an ethnically integrated community. All of these objections point to a single point: the old timers' fear of losing the delicate balance of status acceptance by Gentiles built up over a long period.

---

John R. Kramer and Seymour Leventman, *Children of the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

Emin B. Ringer, *The Edge of Friendliness* (New York: Basic Books, 1965).  
Isaac Glazer, *American Judaism*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).  
It seems to be one symptom of anxiety about changes in community life to underestimate the rapidity of the change that is taking place. Thus, most of the Philadelphia overestimated the number of blacks on the force, perhaps a symptom of anxiety. William M. Kephart, "Negro Visibility," *American Journal of Sociology* (August, 1954) 462-467. It might be suggested, by extension, that the Philadelphia community overestimated the degree of this Jewish influx and hence

living in the community. The negative feelings toward the new arrivals can probably be evoked for remembering or imagining their feelings toward some situation that has kept them from some personal triumph. The desertion of one's unacculturated ethnic peers may work in the reverse feeling against the ethnic "traitors" who have sold out the collective interest for their private interests.

## **INSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCY**

Institutions are those established procedures in a community that are socially approved mechanisms for the satisfaction of human needs. Familiar examples are the institutions of the family, economy, religion, government, recreation, medical care, etc. Since these areas represent vital human needs, we can assume that nearly all most human beings of whatever ethnic group have a set of institutional mechanisms in each of these areas. In this conception, *community* represents the level of social organization in which all the basic institutions are maintained for the satisfaction of the needs of the members. Social units such as military garrisons or colleges are not communities because there is at least one area of human need being provided by that unit.

Do ethnic groups constitute communities in this sense? The correct answer to this question because there is considerable variation among ethnic groups. On the one hand, there are ethnic groups characterized by what Breton calls *institutional completeness*.

Institutional completeness would be at its extreme if an ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of other social units for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as food, shelter, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance. In contemporary North American cities very few, if any, ethnic communities showing full institutional completeness can be found.

Questioning the validity of Breton's "few if any" point about institutional completeness, it can still be observed, as Breton does, that

bility in the degree to which different ethnic groups are "complete" or "incomplete" in terms of institutional completeness. In analyzing the degree of institutional completeness, there would be two major strategies. One strategy would be to follow the procedure of taking a sample of members of the group in Montreal and obtaining data to show which institutions are "high" or "low" in overall institutional self-sufficiency. This is illustrated by the kind of analysis immediately following. There are only two institutional areas here; however, many other areas could be treated in this fashion. From these two areas we can make generalizations we can about the conditions that affect ethnic self-sufficiency.

## Marriage

Marriage as a social institution deals with the regulation of the attendant concomitants of cohabitation of members of an ethnic group would be "institutionally complete" in terms of marriage if the group was able to provide spouses or other sexual partners drawn exclusively from other members of the group. Most ethnic groups show a strong preference for *endogamy*—marriage within one's ethnic group—and more or less resistance to *exogamy*—marriage with outsiders. American Jews are an example of an ethnic group with a deep fear for "Jewish survival" arising from intermarriage with Gentiles. The troubling thought to many is, How can the next generation be thoroughly Jewish in identity if one parent is Jewish? More disturbing still, How much Jewish identity is passed on by "half Jewish" parents to *their* children?<sup>3</sup> The ethnic situations that usually capture the attention of scholars are, first, immigration movements in which the newcomers are dominant over the native population, and colonizing movements in which the newcomers are dominant over the native population—the latter situation is usually a serious problem. Ethnic migrations of either type are usually adventurous affairs, at least in the pioneer phases of settlement, and tend to attract primarily males. As a result, there has

---

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *America's Jews*, chap. 6.

anced sex ratio (proportion of males to females).<sup>36</sup> The effect on the sexual relations of ethnics has tended to be different for colonizing peoples and for subordinate immigrants. Colonists have, by definition, established a relation of dominance with native peoples of the colony, and the shortage of women for them has tended to be solved by the colonial men's sexual relations with native women, a situation that native men have tried to prevent.<sup>37</sup> Thus, a practice that is a "solution" for the colonizer becomes a problem for the colonized: native men's lack of access to women of their own ethnic kind who would marry or concubinage with colonizing men.

The shortage of women in frontier colonizing situations, like racial miscegenation, other factors influence the degree to which interbreeding is carried out. For instance, the rate of interracial sexual contact between European colonizers and native women (and slave women) was much higher in Central America than in North America.<sup>38</sup> The difference lies partly in the different patterns in the two areas: the English in North America were mostly agriculturalists and more often with wives, while the Spanish and Portuguese, who dominated South and Central America, were mostly soldiers, traders, miners, and other adventurers. But, as we have seen, there may have been another factor at work: the traditional view of the English family as compared with that of the Iberian family. English husbands tended to have mistresses, a practice

---

<sup>36</sup> The very high ratio of males to females in the Japanese immigration of the early part of this century, see Petersen, *Japanese Americans*, p. 196. In the case of immigrants to the United States at about the same time, it is still higher: 229 male for every 100 female immigrants. Ernest Rubin, "The Japanese Immigrant to the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 367(1966):17.

<sup>37</sup> The same practice has, of course, been responsible for the production of mixed ethnic ancestry: the Metis children of European and native Indian in Canada, the Chinese population of Malaysia (descendants of Malay natives and Chinese immigrants), the "colored" population of South Africa, etc.

<sup>38</sup> Rivers thus indicated that even today "intermarriage is not regarded as a disgrace in Central America. Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Race, Color, and Class in Central America," *American Anthropologist*, 96(Spring, 1967) 542-559.

<sup>39</sup> N. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White* (New York: Macmillan, 1966).

ves accustomed to patriarchal dominance and a double standard of extramarital involvement for men but not for women. The wife, by contrast, was much more powerful if not in an official relation. In the American South, lower-class white women would "raise hell" if she knew or suspected a husband's involvement, especially with a black woman. It may be that marriage and/or sexual relations between Europeans and Indians were largely confined to: (a) large southern plantations where the upper-class position could withstand the pressure of such relations, and their wives, and (b) the trappers and traders of the frontier stage, when there was much miscegenation between European and Indian women, as well as other kinds of "lawless" relations. The first group of women arrived in large numbers was the West country women (accurately, domesticated).

None of subordinate immigrant groups were not, of course, to solve their woman shortage by sexual relations with native indigenous groups. An occasional Italian-American or other success might hope to marry an "American" woman who was willing to have a husband of inferior social standing was favorable.<sup>40</sup> But a typical male of the immigrant group could realistically hope for one of the following:

He might hope to obtain a wife from his own ethnic group, whom he had his eye on before he left or who could be reached through intermediaries in the home country. In a study of Canada, Kosa shows that this tactic could work well if the immigrant had good contacts with friends and relatives in Hungary. If he had wealth or other social standing to be attractive to a woman, she might be willing to emigrate if she could obtain a passport to Canada.<sup>41</sup> The impecunious and those isolated from contacts in the country of origin—and emigration may have been the only hope of just these kinds of persons—were relatively few. The spouses from back home. Another condition inhibited the hostility of the host country to the importation of immigrants under such circumstances. The publicity in the United States

---

...ato, *Italian Americans*, p. 123

Kosa, *Land of Choice: the Hungarians in Canada* (Toronto, 1957)



ice by Japanese men of bringing in "picture brides" found for them by agents in Japan—was a factor of further Japanese immigration.<sup>42</sup> The immigration must have similarly frustrated the hope of many men of northern or eastern European origin of bringing brides from their native country.

Unable to develop more permanent sexual liaisons with their own ethnic group, the immigrant man in such situations turned to sexual contacts to the few women of his ethnic group who were prostitutes. The prevalence, for example, of Japanese prostitutes on the West Coast of the United States when first-generation Japanese immigrants dominated can be explained in terms of the inability of these men to import wives from Japan. As a result, there was an extremely high ratio of males to females among Japanese immigrants in America.<sup>43</sup> This situation must have been all the more true in the same area in light of Lyman's observation that Japanese men were much more likely than the Chinese to "sojourn" rather than making their temporary residences in an "overseas" locale.

## Education

The schooling of ethnic group members is often as much an internal issue within an ethnic group as it is between the group and the wider society. The fact is understandable when one considers that so much people depend on their schools to build the knowledge and skills that are prized in that society. Ethnic groups may have their own educational practices that are somewhat at odds with the prevailing practices of the dominant society. As we noted in an earlier discussion of the Amish, such as the Hutterites, the question of who educates the children—the Hutterites themselves or educational agents of the dominant society—may become a major issue between the ethnic group and the dominant society. Educational autonomy for ethnic groups is often strongly demanded, and frequently resisted. The willingness

---

<sup>42</sup> Hansen, *Japanese-Americans*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Hansen, *Japanese-Americans*, p. 196.

<sup>44</sup> Ford M. Lyman, "Contrasts in the Community Organization of Ethnic Groups in North America," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 1, 1 (1964), p. 10.

s to encourage or inhibit ethnic education, and the ethnic groups to maintain an ethnically exclusive instructional system, with considerable variability, however. The differential tolerance for ethnic educational autonomy of ethnic groups in a society is one such area of variability. Ethnic group members themselves or of people in the society may feel that there is relative indifference to the inclusion or exclusion of self-fledged "citizens" of the country, there may be a reluctance to subject the education of ethnic group children to the ethnic group. These residents in such southeast Asian countries as Malaysia and Indonesia furnish good examples of such attitudes.<sup>45</sup> Better known for its "temporary" attitude of nonpermanent residence outside China, there has been a tendency for Chinese children in these countries to attend exclusively Chinese schools. Sometimes, however, the feeling toward ethnic group members becomes so hostile that the policy toward ethnic education is abandoned. Thailand illustrates this situation. Although there has been a tendency toward exclusively Chinese education for Chinese children in the case in Malaysia and Indonesia, the long tradition of Thai and Chinese peoples asserted itself after a violent and concerted attack on the ethnically Chinese character of the schools. In the United States, with its ideology of assimilation and the acceptance of members as citizens, there was never any serious opposition to Chinese schools in American Chinatowns, and this was true for virtually all other immigrant ethnic groups.<sup>46</sup> Another area of variability is the degree to which ethnic groups are determined to maintain an ethnically exclusive school system. This is a function of the experience of ethnic groups in the United States and the various compromises that ethnic groups have had to make in order to attempt to maintain an ethnic education for their children in the face of assimilating expectations in the wider society. One point

---

Frederic Freedman, "The Chinese in Southeast Asia," in Andrew Nathan, *China in World Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967); and William H. Williams, *The Future of the Overseas Chinese in South East Asia* (New York: New York University Press, 1966).

Frederic F. M. Fong, "Assimilation of Chinese in America: Changes in Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology* 71 (November 1965): 100-11.

has been to allow ethnic groups to maintain ethnic schools at their own expense, providing that (a) they contribute to support the public schools, and (b) they meet certain standards in such matters as curriculum and standards of teachers that are set by government agencies. The pattern of parochial education sponsored by American Catholics is an instance of an attempt to maintain this kind of control. A good example of some of the tensions that can develop when this pattern is followed. A comparison of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious groupings will indicate some of the considerations that have led to the way ethnically self-sufficient education has worked in the United States.

In this country, the term *parochial education* is usually used to refer to a very extensive system of Catholic schools at all levels from kindergarten to college. The church hierarchy has often been criticized, rightly so, of the secularizing or Protestantizing tendencies of the country's public schools. The development of Catholic parochial education in New York City illustrates the national pattern.<sup>47</sup> Early in the nineteenth century in New York, as elsewhere, was thought to be a church's duty to provide education for various purposes. This was so much the case that, in 1807, the church established a Free School Society to provide education for the poor, whether they were or not members of or not provided for by the church. As the idea of nondenominational public education developed in the state of New York, public money was allocated to the Free School Society; and, as the society (soon renamed the Free School Society) was dominated by Protestants, the Catholics demanded to establish their own schools and to make the same demands for the support of these schools. A period of controversy followed, culminating, in 1842, in the passage of a law relating the familiar principle of separation of church and state to the state was forbidden to dispense public funds to support sectarian schools. From this point, the church developed parochial education at its own expense. With the more recent advances in public education, the financial plight of Catholics, requiring

---

The following discussion of parochial education in New York City is taken from *Beyond the Me'ting Pot*.

systems if they choose to send the rich children to private schools. If they have been brought forcibly to the attention of the American authorities, they have been tried to provide aid without violating the laws. Without such assistance, Catholic parochial schools at the primary and secondary levels have flourished in most parts of the country. In New York City, for example, approximately one-third of the total enrollment is in Catholic schools.<sup>48</sup> In the area of higher education, however, in nationality groups, the church has been less successful. There are few parochial schools. In spite of the rather large number of colleges and universities—Fordham, Loyola, Notre Dame, etc.—the enrollment is very small compared with the total number of students in higher education.<sup>49</sup> Providing educational facilities for the Mexican-American population has also proved to be a difficult task. Immigrants from Mexico brought with them some of the educational traditions of Mexico, or at least an unfamiliarity with the American system of education and with the need for financial support for education. The church has made vigorous efforts, most notably in the Southwest, to establish parochial schools among Mexican-Americans, but it has met with the felt pressure of Protestant competition. Only a small portion of Mexican-Americans living in the Southwest are enrolled in parochial schools, however.<sup>50</sup> For Jewish Americans, parochial education has tended to be less developed. Students of the Jewish experience in America have been based on the tendency of Jews to value secular learning over religious learning that was traditionally valued. Jewish immigrants came to America for making available at last such civil liberties and access to public education, and they were thus enthralled to the public schools.<sup>51</sup> Any tendency toward parochialism, if it were to develop, would, it was feared, indicate some degree of dis-

---

er and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, p. 280.

estimated that, in 1965, only about one-third of American Catholics were enrolled in Catholic colleges. James W. Trent, *Catholics in College* (Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 45.

W. Moore, *Mexican-Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 62-65. The Protestant-Catholic competition among Mexican-Americans is discussed in, *The Mexican Americans of South Texas* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964), pp. 62-65.

See, *America's Jews*, pp. 19, 20.

to the country that had provided these opportunities. There were only about one thousand Jewish students in parochial schools. By 1935, parochial enrollment still represented a small fraction of school attendance by Jewish children.<sup>52</sup> There has been something of a resurgence of Jewish parochial education. In 1953, some 6 percent of Jewish children attended such schools. The total enrollment was sixty thousand.<sup>53</sup> The new emphasis on Jewish education is partly the result of the influx of Jewish immigrants into the United States following the Jewish displacement after World War II. (The Orthodox Jews have always been strong supporters of parochial schools.) The upsurge may also be due to an increased interest in Jewish education as a matter of national identity, as we suggested in Chapter 1. The degree of interest increases with the increasing level of education involved, however. It is estimated that some 70 percent of children eight to twelve are receiving some kind of Jewish education (most of it in parochial or some parochial schools), but only 16 percent of those between sixteen and twenty are receiving a Jewish education.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps it is significant that Jewish education has accomplished its work in convincing their children willingly to the identity-establishing ceremonies of Bar Mitzvah (male) or Bas Mitzvah (female) ceremony at about the age of thirteen. At the college level, the "Jewish" college or university is virtually nonexistent. There are Yeshivas, which provide special religious training, and some institutions, such as City College of New York, which are, in effect, "secular Jewish" institutions by virtue of the high percentage of Jews in their student bodies and faculties.<sup>55</sup> Among Protestant Americans, the interest in parochial education is the very nearly the reverse of that of Catholic and Jewish Americans, particularly in terms of the level of education. Parochial education at the elementary and secondary levels has never really taken root among Protestant Americans (except for certain "radical" sects such as the

---

Abraham Glazer, *American Judaism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 109, 110.

Glazer, *American Judaism*, p. 173.

In the case of City College, the recently instituted "open admissions" policy, as recent news accounts, drastically altered the nature of the college's Jewish intellectual elite.

y because the numerical predominance in the public schools that Protestant children will not be seduced by secular influences. Higher education is a somewhat different story. There have been denominationally sponsored colleges established by every Protestant denomination and in all parts of the country. It is to be expected that the confidence of Protestant parents in the loyalty of their children to the faith of their fathers is somewhat shaken when they consider sending these children away to college and into the hands of non-Protestants or, worse, of non-Christians. Parents may view "godless" collegiate types as the hippie and the free-lance. Denominational colleges may accordingly thrive on the confidence that parents will be able to provide, *in loco parentis*, the need for continuity of the traditional religious affiliation.

The discussion above has been primarily about full-time education. It appears, however, that all ethnic groups develop some ambitious programs for the ethnic education of their children in the United States, in line with the "triple melting pot" thesis. In Chapter 1, it appears that ethnicity based on national origin is not a point where we should not expect to find much parallelism. Instead, such ethnic groups must rely to a greater or lesser extent on alternatives as the following.

First, an ethnic group may sponsor "afternoon schools" or vacation schools to supplement the nonethnic education received in the public schools on weekdays. For example, Yeshiva schools for the religious education of Jewish children were the mainstays of Jewish education in the United States. Japanese language schools for after-hours education in Japanese were common in this ethnic group. A long-time student of such a school, remarks that few of his Nisei (second-generation) students developed any lasting understanding of Japanese language or culture in these schools.<sup>57</sup> However, Kitano points out, these schools have been noted for other ethnically supplementary functions that they provided a group of peer associates with whom they could feel more identity than he could with the children of the majority.

---

...e, *America's Jews*, pp. 162-165.

d public schools. Highly acculturated suburban Jews are often described as feeling more "at home" or easygoing, a result that may be highly desirable if the aim is to attract especially spouses from among one's own ethnic group. Parents served a useful "baby sitting" function for parents. For parents, especially those self-employed parents with long working hours, it may be highly functional economically to have children at home for two or so more hours after school. Second, ethnic group members may successfully demand that their ethnic history or present situation be included in the curriculum of the public schools. At the very least, parents and community groups may request that school textbooks and other instructional materials not foster self-hatred among their own children by depicting their ethnic group in unfavorable lights. Thus, blacks have demanded a "fair" presentation of the role of Negroes in southern Reconstruction; American Indians have urged a re-evaluation of their ancestors who were too often shown as victims of the "civilization" of the West. At another level, ethnic groups have demanded, with little success, more bilingual schools in areas of heavy Mexican-American concentration, more attention to the study of the Spanish language and tradition in the curriculum. It is often understood that such revolutions in public education are dependent on the ability of the locally dominant ethnic group to gain a measure of "community control" of the schools. The New York City school crisis of 1968-1969 centered around the demands of blacks in ghetto areas to gain this kind of capacity to give a new direction to the educational program in their communities. It is hard to see that the inability of American Indians to secure such control for their children that will emphasize Indian cultural traditions is due to a chronic lack of community control in the reservation situation. Public schools, along with other institutional services, are largely controlled by the paternal white government, with the result that they are not open to such gifts.<sup>60</sup>

---

er, *The Edge of Friendliness*

Price R. Berube and Marilyn Gittell (eds.), *Confrontation at Oyster Bay: The New York School Strikes of 1968* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

Finally, and especially at the level of higher education, efforts to institute ethnic studies programs as optional for ethnic group members or interested outsiders who may lack information about the group. The black studies programs have become common in colleges and universities throughout the country; they are the most prominent example. However, one finds such programs being established at institutions wherever there is a concentration of members of some ethnic group: Mexican-American studies at UCLA and the University of New Mexico, Scandinavian studies at the University of Minnesota and the University of Wisconsin. As to Greeley, the increasing demand for such ethnic studies programs is part of a new "tribalism" that he sees emerging in the United States. He notes, however, that few ethnic group members or students have any strong involvement in the tedium of learning a *language* that is allowed to lapse during a period of ethnic indifference.

---

<sup>51</sup>For an evaluation of an ethnic studies program for Mexican-Americans, see Rochin, "The Short and Turbulent Life of Chicano Studies: A Preliminary Report on Programs and Problems," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53(March, 1972).

<sup>52</sup>Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* pp. 148-152.



RT 2

HNIC  
LATIONS

# OVERVIEW

In the first part of this book, we concentrated on the *groups* in several relevant sociological dimensions. In this part, we draw our attention to the matter of ethnic *relations*, the nature and quality of the relationship between members of several ethnic groups who live in the same social environment.

The key to the analysis in this part is found in the concepts of *social interaction* and *social relationship* as defined by Max Weber's definitions. According to Weber, human actions are (or are not) therefore interactive) when the behavior of a person is "oriented toward" the behavior of other people.<sup>1</sup> A left hand slap to the cheek of an opponent in a fight and a kiss to the mouth of a lover are both "social" by this definition, since both actions are "oriented toward" the behavior of other person, whether enemy or lover. A *social relationship* exists, according to Weber, when there is a high "probability" of such interaction.

---

<sup>1</sup>Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 1.

act on occurring between the interactants.<sup>2</sup> Thus, persons among whom many friendly interactions occur are persons between whom recurring interactions in fact tend to do harm.

One may say that human behavior is "oriented" to the behavior of others, but this is to ignore the problem of the near-infinite complexity of human behavior. A man works hard at a job in anticipation that the work will bring him a reward, a promotion, a raise, a chance to come and maybe earn the appreciation of his employer, or perhaps even the respect of future generations. In many cases, the behavior of one person is oriented to the behavior of "other" individuals whose responding behavior is itself oriented to the behavior of yet other individuals. This presents a great variety of possible respondents, which makes it difficult to predict the behavior of one person. The fact that the motives of human social behavior are generally complex makes the problem even more difficult. It is in the context of this immense complexity that the social scientist, together with other social scientists—and, indeed, every individual in the society—must attempt somehow to understand human behavior. The social scientist, relatively, to make predictions about how persons will behave in different social situations. The social scientist's starting point for an analysis of social relationships is the individual. The individual's interaction or relationship with her husband, her children, her friends, her colleagues, her employers, employees, etc., refers to the *interpersonal* dimension of social behavior. The individual's participation as a member of a group of employees, of a group of women devoted to women's liberation, of a group of students, etc., refers to the *intergroup* dimension of social behavior. The individual's participation in a social activity where that participation is "oriented" to the behavior of other individuals or groups of such collective entities as management, male workers, a political system, etc., refers to the *intergroup* dimension of social behavior. Of course the point has often been made that much of so-called intergroup behavior can actually be reduced to interpersonal relations: that, for example, what are called intergroup relations are nothing more than the summation of many individual relations in which, for example, a white person either behaves in a way that implies equality of status with a black person or behaves in a way that implies inequality. One may insist, then, that human behavior has an *intergroup* dimension, but this is not the point that is emphasized in this book, as it is in every other book on the subject. The point is on ethnic relations? An explanation of this insisterly is the nature of "participation" in group activities.

num of *identification* (of the kind discussed in Chapter 2) group, a person is likely to feel that his or her interests and individual members of other ethnic groups are similar to fellow ethnic group members. Thus, individuals may feel (and sometimes are forcibly made to feel) that they are "representatives" of their race and that their actions in the intergroup context reflect the intergroup *position* of their group when dealing with members of the other race. This "position" is a collective definition of whites as people who must bear a "burden" relative to "primitive" people, or the negative relation implied in a "white supremacy" position. The racial "position" may be a "black is beautiful" position in the presence of whites or, alternatively, a kind of hostility toward whites expressed by the adoption of a "black power" position.<sup>3</sup>

The poet's insight that "no man is an island" is, of course, true to the extent that there are all degrees of personal connection or isolation from one's ethnic group. But the insights that are often such identities, such feelings of shared fate, and the social forces designed to engender loyalty in one's group are all based on some conception of the collective position of the group. Focusing on the influence of these "collective positions" is within the orbit of the genius (some think an evil genius) of Blumer. He emphasizes group constraints on individual behavior.

---

I use here of the term *position* to indicate any stance that an ethnic group is likely to adopt when dealing with other ethnic group members in the intergroup context. Blumer's view of race prejudice as a "group position" emphasizes the role of other groups that involve a sense of status superiority imposed on individual representatives. It is just as possible, from the present perspective, that a particular ethnic group may be one of treating other ethnic groups as superiors, or (perhaps) as "separate but equals." Otherwise the position here entertained is identical with Blumer's view that prejudice is not by individual feelings but by a "collective process" by which a group defines itself in relation to other ethnic groups. Herbert Blumer, "Race and Group Position," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1(Spring, 1958): 3-4. Whether this constraint is exercised by "external" sanctions such as the disapproval of one who violates the group position by being a "nigger" or whether the constraint is exercised by the internalization of prejudices learned in the social milieu is not at issue here. In either case the group position is reinforced perhaps by other ethnic groups as the dominant group.



some kind of social planning by officially powerful people; the efforts of the United States government, through civil rights legislation, to lessen the subordination of minority groups; or the policy of South Africa designed to enforce greater social equality between peoples of European and native origins. Other changes may come "spontaneously" as the result of broad social changes that either planned or have unplanned consequences for ethnic relations. Urbanization and industrialization, processes that are often planned social developments, may profoundly affect ethnic relations in ways not intended or even in ways actively resisted by people. We will also be given to *social movements* undertaken by members of ethnic group members, wherein attempts are made to bear—this pressure taking all forms from gentle "moral suasion" to revolution—to change the positioning of ethnic groups relative to one another. In Chapter 7 we shall have occasion again to note the tension between distance and stratification as fundamental dimensions in ethnic relations, observing that such changes, whether spontaneous or the result of social movements, may involve either in terms of greater or lesser distance between groups or greater or lesser amounts of inequality of power between

# CHAPTER 4

## ETHNIC DISTANCE

### DISTANCE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

When individual persons make inventories of their relationships, they are likely to think of those persons whom they know, those who are acquaintances, and those who are simply strangers. Similarly, members of various ethnic groups inhabiting the same area (e.g., a country, a community, a college campus) may be divided into those of acquaintance or lack of acquaintance with members of other ethnic groups. To illustrate one extreme, it has been observed that many whites in the state of Oklahoma are almost totally ignorant of the existence of a thriving American Indian community in that state.<sup>1</sup> To understand the element of distance between members of different ethnic groups, we need a closer focus on some of the meanings of intimate human relations.

---

<sup>1</sup>Albert L. Wahrhaftig and Robert K. Thomas, "Renaissance and Repression: The Cherokee," *Trans-action*, 6(February, 1969):42-48.

## Acquaintances and Strangers

Cooley's concept of the *primary group* is useful in suggesting those relationships in which distance is minimized, such as the family, the neighborhood, and friendship groups, and by intensive feelings of emotional involvement on the part of the members; to be close to someone is to care about that person; to be far from someone (not necessarily but often in a sexual sense) is an indication of indifference. We might be tempted to characterize distant relationships as those involving indifference, in contrast, as involving the feeling of hatred between persons. As Simmel especially has noted, intense love and hatred are the extremes of an intimate relationship.<sup>3</sup> It is probably more accurate to characterize distant relationships as those involving indifference. For instance, the ordinary person will experience the death of a loved one but only mild curiosity about a stranger reported in the newspaper obituary column. Close ethnic relations may come very close to being "love relationships" between members of two or more ethnic groups. In the United States, Blacks and Chicanos have recently shown a great deal of solidarity with one another by virtue of their common victimization in America. On the other hand, relations between ethnic groups may be characterized by a state of one of almost total indifference to the other. The story of a king of a primitive tribe who demonstrated to his subjects the efficiency of a new rifle by firing at a distant target and then exclaimed that the king had shot an "unfortunate" while a coolie replied, "It is only a washerman."<sup>5</sup> Similar indifference makes it easier for Europeans to carry on warfare against non-European peoples who were seen not as persons but as "only an enemy to be killed."

A second feature of social relationships within primary groups is that our analysis of ethnic relations is the observation

---

3. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Scribner's, 1909), p. 10; Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff [and] *The Web of Group-Minority*, ed. by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 45-48.

4. R. A. Farley, "Ethnic Attitudes as a Basis for Social Organization in a Southwestern Metropolis," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53(1972), p. 10.

5. E. E. Schattschneider, *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 10.



ships are characterized by the members' extensive investments of themselves to one another.<sup>6</sup> More distant relationships are characterized by the interactants' rather narrow range of interaction with each other. Indeed, such interaction is often based on general stereotypes, such as when "the student" confronts the professor on the basis of some general assumptions about the nature of students and professors. Members of many ethnic groups complain of being stereotyped as "the Jew" or "the black boy" rather than as individuals. Thus the few Jewish families in a small town are asked to present "the Jewish viewpoint" on some issue. <sup>7</sup> It has been said that what ethnic groups want and deserve is the "right to have scoundrels among us," the right, that is, that members be judged for what they are as individuals rather than on the basis of negative stereotypes about how people of their category behave. The prevalence of stereotyped treatment of members of ethnic groups is a prominent feature of social distance as applied to ethnic groups. This stereotyping is often referred to as prejudice. In this book, *prejudice* and *social distance* will be used interchangeably in the analysis.

## Maintaining Distance

We turn now to an analysis of some of the reasons why people resist wanting to get close to members of some ethnic groups. We begin, dealing primarily with race relations in Great Britain, by examining fundamentally different reasons for white Britons resisting

---

lovers sometimes vow to keep no secrets from one another. As Simmel describes a love relationship in which "we share each other's pasts" but he insists that he often wishes that he did *not* know these things about the other. Before, Simmel (often rated as our greatest "sociologist of intimacy") argues that there is a point beyond which the most intimate of relationships cannot go without endangering the relationship. Wolff, *Social Psychology*, pp. 326-329.

I. Rose, "Small-Town Jews and Their Neighbors in the United States," *American Sociology* 3(December, 1961):174-191. Reprinted in Peter I. Rose, *The Jewish Problem* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 335-356.

Benedict, "The Right to Have Scoundrels," *Saturday Review* (October 1945):13.

coloured people around them.<sup>9</sup> One's sense of status  
is a fear of the unfamiliar.

**consciousness.** In Britain, as elsewhere, there  
son's status is judged by the people he associates  
ple cited by Banton is the London landlady who pre-  
coloured people lest her white neighbors assume that  
only" for coloured.<sup>10</sup> Another instance of social dis-  
consciousness involves the idea of *contamination*.  
contact is made with members of ethnic groups of in-  
a caste system, with the Brahmin fear of defilement  
e had with "untouchables," is a familiar illustration  
belief held by some Japanese that a Japanese woman  
black man would, should she later have children by  
ue to have black children, since her womb has be-  
black man.<sup>11</sup>

the correlation between social-distance tendencies  
and the imputed status of that group is one of the  
sive research using so-called social-distance scales.  
research instrument, subjects are given a list of po-  
t groups and asked about their willingness to asso-  
of intimacy (e.g., common residence in the same co-  
neighborhood, as coworkers, as marriage partners)  
each of the listed groups. In a wide variety of con-  
period of time, most Americans have expressed  
ate association with such higher status ethnic groups  
h, or Canadians; and a distaste for association with  
or Koreans even though, in many cases, there has

---

ei Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), ch. 1.  
coloured is used to refer to all darker skinned people and not  
on, *Race Relations*, p. 382.

shi Wagatsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan,"  
432

Journal *Sociology and Social Research* frequently publishes a  
e. For a fairly recent article that refers to much earlier research,  
Comparing Racial Distance in Ethiopia, South Africa, and the United  
*Research*. 52(1968):149-156.

nence with the people about whom preferences are only a general notion about the high or low status. One should postulate a general human tendency to would maximize status, one might logically predict that ethnic groups of lower status would show preference for persons from ethnic groups of higher status rather than their own ethnic group. There are some indications of this in the observation, for example, of the tradition of black men for a marriage partner of lighter skin color than that of a white person.<sup>13</sup> The status advantage accruing to a black man in an interracial marriage is the most apparent example. That most racial intermarriages in the United States are between a black man and a white woman.<sup>14</sup> Examination of such intermarriages usually involve a black man of higher-class position and a white woman of lower-class position. In such marriages, each gains something in status through the marriage: *she* gains improvement in status while *he* gains the advantage of sexual association with a higher status man,<sup>15</sup> and the probability of having children lighter in skin color by encouraging his children's social mobility. The opposite—black wife, white husband—could involve no position gain for the woman, and, even though the wife were upper class, because she takes the status of her husband; there is no gain for her but could only "degrade" her position.

---

Lloyd Warner, B. H. Junker, and W. A. Adams, *Color and Human Behavior* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

<sup>13</sup> See the available data on male and female tendencies toward interracial marriage in George S. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 500–502.

<sup>14</sup> As remarked above on the Japanese belief in the contaminating effect of black skin. The other side of this is the very high value placed on whiteness in Japan. Wagatsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," pp. 40–41. The Japanese association of whiteness with beauty. To verify this, I went to a beach in Hawaii to see Haole (Caucasian) bathers trying to get white. They were sitting under palm trees or umbrellas trying to avoid tanning. For a more detailed study see *The Japanese and the Haoles of Honolulu* (New Haven, Conn.: College of Arts and Sciences, 1971), p. 76. Wagatsuma ("The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," pp. 40–41) notes that many Japanese soldiers found great satisfaction in sleeping with Caucasians and that their masculinity was enhanced by sexual association with them.

There is thus evidence in support of the prediction that, on the whole, persons of higher status ethnic groups, tend to be more selective in the degree to which the point can be generalized. This was administered to subjects from ethnic groups of various nationalities and tendencies for expressing a preference for intimate associations of *their own* ethnic groups. Thus, Anglo students at the University of Hawaii whose student body had about equal numbers of Caucasians and Mexican-Americans rated Mexican-Americans sixteenth in preference for association.<sup>16</sup> Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, placed Mexican-Americans first in their order of preference, although they otherwise tended to share the Anglo tendency to rate non-ethnic groups as preferable to Asiatic ones. In a similar study, it is known that the Japanese residents of Honolulu are so selective that they approach Haoles (Caucasians) for intimate association only if they are included in an "Oriental ingroup" in which, for example, a Japanese marriage partner is acceptable as long as the partner is of Japanese ancestry.<sup>17</sup>

The theoretical interpretation of this last set of findings is given by Blau that deals with "social integration" in a more general sense, specifically the relationships between different people and social organization.<sup>18</sup> Blau argues that, for an individual to be socially integrated, which Blau seems to mean that social distance by contact with a particular individual will be reduced), he must not only be "attracted to" other people (which is about what the social distance scales have measured) but that he must be able to associate with other people in his social setting; that is, intimate associations must be rewarding to them. In the "exchange" model of social behavior that Blau favors, each person maximizes his social relationships by gaining the greatest reward at the least cost. The most respected person would certainly gain the greatest reward from associating with the most respected person (he would, for example, gain the greatest reward by engaging a highly respected person in conversation).

---

16. Robert L. Brown, "Social Distance Perceptions as a Function of Minority Ethnic Identity," *Sociology and Social Research*, 57(1973), 27-40.  
17. S. M. Nels, *The Japanese and the Haoles of Honolulu* (Honolulu, 1968), p. 10.  
18. R. M. Blau, "A Theory of Social Integration," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60(1954), 545-556.

However, the likely cost of attempting to associate with the person of lesser status is likely to be *attracted to* by virtue of his superior status is likely to be *attracted to* by the person of lesser status is not likely to be *attracted to* by the person of lesser status.<sup>19</sup>

The rule of "safety first"—of minimizing possible costs—thus become the rule for persons of lesser status. It is especially rewarding to dance with the least attractive person at least highly likely that she will respond favorably to him while the belle of the ball will be turning down many of the Mexican-Americans in Texas, the Japanese in Hawaii, and other groups in many other places will experience or witness some variation of the subtle rejection that Jews experience in the "integrated" Gentile-Jewish community experience at the hands of their neighbors.<sup>20</sup> In the case of the Japanese, the preference for whiteness is blocked by the experience of many Japanese that Caucasian girls are simply not accessible to them. In the "paternalistic" racial atmosphere of Hawaii, the "out-group" status of the Japanese is noticeably low.<sup>22</sup>

**of the unfamiliar.** Banton's analysis of British racial attitudes and the issue of the influence of ethnic group status on intergroup relations suggests another general reason for whites maintaining distance from the coloured population. This is the factor of uncertainty, a sense that "they" are different from "us."

---

There are exceptions to the generalization that members of an ethnic group are not "attracted to" members of ethnic groups of higher status. A personal account of a fairly common experience. Born in America, he was the only black, he found that whites seemed almost eager to court his favor, perhaps to prove their personal liberality. In London, Mullard found himself in the more typical British racial situation, against the coloured population. Even in London, though, he participated in international friendship meetings in which white higher status British men on their coloured guests. Mullard quickly found, however, that acceptance. The coloured guests were expected to accept the British on these evenings in which the British "white man's burden" was made of any serious discrimination, past or present, against colored people. Mullard, *On Being Black in Britain* (Rockville, Md.: Black Orpheus Press, 1971). Benjamin B. Ringer, *The Edge of Friendliness* (New York: Basic Books, 1971). Matsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, The Japanese and the Haoles of Honolulu, pp. 58-59.

knows what one of them may do in an interpersonal  
ence cited by Banton is that of the British white girl  
, consents to dance with a coloured student, perhaps  
nely unprejudiced, or perhaps because she sees the  
it" for interracial harmony.<sup>23</sup> What she may find,  
he "bit" results in a flood of invitations and the risk  
s will be degraded among her peers as she becomes  
oured students' girl," but that some of these colour  
the wrong interpretation on her action. Their sexual  
that acceptance of any bodily contact is tantamount  
al intercourse, and the hapless girl may find herself  
y misunderstanding when her dancing partner wa  
vers at her door that, from his perspective, he has  
on." The possibility of such a misunderstanding m  
both dominant and minority ethnic groups to prefer  
own kind. As long as a person stays within the well  
c custom, he knows where he stands with his fel  
a stranger, he never quite knows.

s line of explanation of social distance needs to be  
ledge that the supposed "differences" between eth  
interethnic misunderstandings likely may be exag  
or purpose. Mason notes in this connection that tra  
da was based on a "premise of inequality" betwe  
and the subordinate Hutu peoples.<sup>24</sup> Along with a  
dominance of the Tutsi was a general belief in  
ent difference between these peoples so that there  
ple, that a Hutu boy brought up as a Tutsi could es  
limitations. Mason thus notes the "desire to e  
s."<sup>25</sup> In a study of the history of the English clas  
s that the distinctive Rugby way of life of the Eng  
ineteenth century reflected the threat to the earlie  
ity" in British society posed by the American and Fr  
accounts, says Mason, for the fact that "the uppe

---

on, *Race Relations*, p. 379.

on, *Patterns of Dominance*, pp. 14, 15.

on, *Patterns of Dominance*, p. 19.

rian Age gloried in subjecting the r sons to rigours w  
iority to the lower bourgeoisie."<sup>26</sup>

## SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Should be clear by now that we have been discussing  
nce in ethnic relations in a social rather than in a ph  
ion now arises whether social distance is expressed  
ation. In other words, is there any tendency of  
by different territories or pieces of "social turf"?<sup>27</sup> T  
hite supremacy in South Africa is accompanied by  
*apartheid* or racial separation. As van den Berghe no  
f natives from Europeans occurs at several levels: (1)  
policy, which requires separate facilities for eati  
s, etc., in situations where natives must come in d  
beans; (2) a *mesosegregation* level, which provi  
ds or black ghettos to which city-dwelling natives  
; and (3) a *macrosegregation* policy, which confine  
lation to certain geographic regions of the countr  
e "reserves," or Bantustans.<sup>28</sup>

e territorial concomitant to ethnic distance can be o  
social situations. Ethnically segregated neighborh  
r large American cities. Also, instances of informal  
r in officially "mixed" situations, such as when bla  
egregated hospital or other workplace stake out piece  
orm of "their" tables in the dining room, etc.

hile it is appropriate to note this frequent coexist  
ation with social distance, we need to observe tha  
een these two aspects of ethnic relations is more  
e one-to-one correspondence. Sometimes strong

---

p Mason, *Prospero's Magic* (London: Oxford University Press  
Mason, *Patterns of Dominance*, p. 19.

term *social turf* is used by Greeley to describe the persisting  
nk of a particular neighborhood as "theirs" and to treat alie  
Andrew W. Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New Yor  
2.

e L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middleto  
sity Press, 1965), pp. 119-120.

maintained between people who are in close physical contact. The distance between officers and enlisted men on the deck of a ship.<sup>29</sup> In analyzing this relationship, much of the particular type of separation or segregation being considered. When racial segregation is concerned, it has been observed that there is a greater likelihood of people of different ethnicities living in the same neighborhoods when there is a greater amount of contact between those groups. Thus, various applications of an index, which is a measure of the degree to which members of different groups are intermingled or separated, have indicated that American cities are about as racially segregated as are some European cities.<sup>30</sup> It is also a fact that residential segregation is less pronounced in rural areas and in the older, antebellum cities of the South. The "sense of position" of whites as the superior race is a factor in segregation unnecessary to maintain white supremacy. Prior to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, southern cities tended to be severe in the microsegregation of racial groups (see van den Berghe). Although it was taken for granted that people of different races should be in physical proximity to one another, efforts were made to segregate schools, toilet and dining facilities, and seating arrangements to insure against any crossing of the color line in public places of association. While lacking legal sanction, many of these patterns persist.

The pattern of low residential segregation coexisting with close physical distance is not limited to the traditional rural American South. It is illustrated in a number of studies of other ethnic communities.<sup>32</sup> Greeley thus describes an American su-

---

van den Berghe, "Distance Mechanisms of Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(January, 1960) 155-164.

E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965); and E. Taeuber, "Residential Segregation in the Mid-Sixties," *Demography*, 3(1966) 1-10.

The distinction between "older" and "newer" southern cities in the case of the Negro is discussed by Leo F. Schnore and P. C. Evenson, "Segregation in Southern Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 72(July, 1966):58-67.

In addition to the cases discussed immediately below, see, for example, the discussion of Gentile integrated midwestern American suburb in Ringer, *The American Suburb*; the discussion of Japanese-Caucasian relations in the largely racialized suburb in Samuels, *The Japanese and the hao es of Honolulu*.



in which Catholics and Protestants live in about equal numbers, with or without segregation of housing. Even the local country club, with about equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants membership.<sup>33</sup> But alongside this residential integration is a segregation of the children between public and parochial schools (at least no contact between students in the two types of schools, except at athletic contests, for example). Greeley observes that one can play bridge for years and never sit with a person of the opposite religion. That, even in the "integrated" country club, there is a separate clubhouse for Catholics to play golf with Catholics, and for Protestants to play golf with Protestants. Similarly, in a study of racial patterns in the city of Chicago, Molotch finds residential integration but still some subtle kinds of racial segregation.<sup>34</sup> For example, swimming facilities are used by people of both races; however, the same kind of segregation of ball games played in the city. Greeley noted in the bridge games and golf matches that the most "impersonal" of social transactions, the buying of real estate, shows some racial segregation, with whites dominating the scene in the daytime, blacks at night (especially Saturday nights), and whites are apparently afraid to go out.

The complex relationship between residential segregation, interethnic social distance or *prejudice* has been a major concern in recent years in the United States. Although the Supreme Court in 1954 declared that racially segregated schools were "inherently unequal" and therefore unconstitutional, there is to this day much controversy about the way in which school integration should be carried out. One of the main problems of this controversy arises from the fact that neither interethnic social distance nor interracial social distance has been defined as a goal, and both these features persist in American social life.<sup>35</sup> Although racial segregation is still strong in American cities, school segregation is not as segregated "de facto" by the pattern of the neighborhood as it once was.

---

Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, pp. 103-119.

Molotch, "Racial Integration in a Transitional Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 34(1969) 878-893.

For a more detailed note in Chapter 6, the *form* of white racism in the United States has changed considerably, but not necessarily its intensity. On the persistence of racial segregation in the United States, see Robert E. Forman, *Black Ghettos, White Ghettos and Other Urban Realities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

ces a the residents of a given neighborhood if it  
y a. the residents of a neighborhood are membe  
e, then nearly all students attending a given neighb  
to be of one ethnic group.<sup>36</sup> The recent practice  
ren to schools in black neighborhoods or black chil  
e neighborhoods has generated much resistance. Wh  
y, protest this assault on the integrity of the neighb  
atively, complain that the quality of their children's  
sociation with black children, who are believed to  
ly retarded.<sup>37</sup> The interracial violence in Boston is  
ple of this protest.

Whether opposition to busing to achieve racial balanc  
based on such "rational" grounds or on more irr  
acial distance is a matter of some uncertainty. Skept  
allacy of the argument that integration downgrades  
inzen asserts, for example, that residents of a white  
ia are perfectly willing to accept a low level of ethnic  
their children's schools (it is even suggested that so  
ols maintain higher standards) so long as school offi  
students between black and white schools.<sup>38</sup> On  
ey has argued that too many of our intellectuals, th  
ies to neighborhoods, fail to recognize the emotio  
e in "their" neighborhood and the resentment felt  
ien ethnicity intrude upon an ethnically homog  
.<sup>39</sup> As Greeley says, his purpose in these observations  
the neighborhood, but to engender some unde  
c groups resist social experiments that ignore such  
al turf."

---

grew cites Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and L  
a majority of students attend schools in which nearly all their  
ne ethnic group as themselves. Thomas F. Pettigrew, "The Ra  
s," in Thomas F. Pettigrew (ed.), *Racial Discrimination in the*  
Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 224-239.

even "white liberals" have opposed busing as a solution to  
ation is indicated by Judith Caditz, "Ambivalence Toward Integ  
ponse to Six Interracial Situations," *Sociological Quarterly*, 160  
r Binzen, *Whitetown USA* (New York: Random House, 1970).  
key *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* pp. 96-101

ere is, however, a subtle form of racism involved in attachment to the "neighborhood," as indicated in a survey of supporters of Louise Day Hicks, a militant leader of the Boston. <sup>40</sup> Although less than 10 percent of her white supporters expressed opposition in principle to racial integration of schools, a great deal of opposition to the idea of sending their children to schools in which a *majority* of students were black. <sup>41</sup> Large numbers of whites also expressed attitudes favorable to residential segregation. Indeed, it is Pettigrew's suggestion that the opposition to busing in the schools is based on the fact that supporters of school segregation see it as a "harbinger of residential integration." As Greeley suggests, busing opponents are genuinely concerned about their neighborhoods (Pettigrew reports that more supporters of Hicks own their own homes and have lived for a longer time in their neighborhood), but this is apparently an attachment to the neighborhood. Their opposition to *extensive* desegregation is a specification of a general attitude of conservatism. The survey indicates that many more pro-Hicks than anti-Hicks Bostonians made the statement: "Things are pretty good nowadays—it is better this way they are." <sup>43</sup>

## SEGREGATION AND THE REDUCTION OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

We have just seen that the relationship between physical distance (segregation) and social distance (prejudice) is a complex one. It is, however, that social distance is based on fear of the unknown, a tendency to reduce this fear by stereotyping (often in terms of prejudice) members of other ethnic groups, it would seem that steps that lead to greater contact (desegregation) between

---

Thomas F. Pettigrew, *Racially Separate or Together?* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 29.

He also found a similar reaction among Gentiles living in "Lakeville," where 20 percent of the Gentiles indicated a preference for living in a community with a majority of Jews, while only 1 to 2 percent preferred a community with a *majority* of Jews. *Intolerance and Prejudice*, p. 157.

Pettigrew, *Racially Separate or Together*, p. 223.

Pettigrew, *Racially Separate or Together*, p. 219.

and help to reduce social distance.<sup>44</sup> This so-called contact hypothesis has been qualified by a recognition of the influence of status on encouraging social distance as discussed above: the status considerations in intergroup associations. Any forced association of lower status ethnic groups is likely to engender "superior" groups to such "contaminating" contacts and "inferior" groups of the standoffish attitudes of the superior group. Then, to the contact hypothesis is that this contact is most effective between members of different ethnic groups who are of approximately equal status.<sup>45</sup>

The equal-status amendment will lead to three sorts of hypotheses about the social distance effects of interethnic contact. (1) When there is a system of ethnic stratification in which members of one dominant group are higher in status than *any* members of another, there will be no occasion for equal-status contact between members of those two groups and contact will therefore never be effective in reducing social distance.<sup>46</sup> (2) When there is some overlap between high-status and low-status positions between two ethnic groups, for example, being as high in social status as some members of one group, social distance will result only from those contacts between members of two ethnic groups who are of approximately equal status.

---

Williams and his research associates were able to substantiate the contact hypothesis in a number of American communities. "In all the surveys in which we have studied ethnic groups, majority and minorities, the greater the frequency of contact between the groups, the less the prevalence of ethnic prejudice." Robin Williams, *Strangers Near Home* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 167-168. For a useful summary of the contact hypothesis, see Simpson and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Attitudes*.

It should be added, perhaps, that it is the *perception* of relative status, not the actual status position of people involved that determines the attitudinal impact of cross-ethnic contact. Residents of various integrated and segregated neighborhoods in New York City who *believe* that blacks are higher in status are those most likely to have positive attitudes toward blacks. David C. Morris, "Racial Attitudes of White Residents of Segregated Neighborhoods," *Sociological Focus*, 6(Spring, 1973), pp. 1-12. In chapter 5 we shall discuss an "echelon" system of interethnic relations in which members of one group outrank all members of another group. According to this hypothesis, interracial contacts such as might occur between members of different ethnic groups in the United States would not tend to lessen social distance unless the contact would thus be effective in reducing social distance only for those members of one ethnic group whose status position was on a par with that of members of the other ethnic group. One reason why the integrated experience in the military is of such importance to Americans is that the military replaces

dering the overall status of an ethnic group (rather than among group members), the hypothesis would predict an increase in social distance when high-status groups come in contact with low-status groups than when not-so-high-status groups come in contact with low-status groups. For example, Mexican-Americans coming in contact with blacks or Indians would be more likely to experience greater social distance than would Anglos coming in contact with the same groups.<sup>48</sup>

Not only one of these hypotheses to be given much more attention is the second—the one dealing with the effect on social distance (or prejudice) of contacts between *individual* ethnic group members. Since residential patterns in the United States tend to reflect social status, or some other index of status, it is understandable that the research on equal-status contacts has focused on integrated housing on the degree of racial prejudice residents have experienced such integration. A series of studies have shown that whites living in integrated housing situations tend to have less prejudice toward blacks as compared with whites living in segregated housing situations.<sup>50</sup>

---

with its own system of ranks, and enforces equality of treatment within the ranks. Thus, all privates, regardless of ethnicity, are reduced to the same level, and all officers, regardless of ethnicity, are accorded the same rank in the military hierarchy confers

Brown, "Social Distance Perception as a Function of Mexican-American Status," who shows that Mexican-American students in a Texas University have less prejudice (social distance) than did Anglo students toward black students. Similarly for a population of residents of Houston, Texas, see Brown, "Ethnic Attitudes as a Basis for Minority Cooperation in a Segregated Society."

on Deutsch and Mary E. Collins, *Interracial Housing* (Minnesota Press, 1951), Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle P. Walkley, and others, *Interracial Relations in Interracial Housing: A Study of the Contact Hypothesis* (University of Minnesota Press, 1955). For a recent study contradicting the contact hypothesis, see Morris, "Racial Attitudes of White Residents in Integrated and Segregated Housing."

There is an obvious problem of serious proportion in arguing that those who are less prejudiced "because of" their experience with integration, that those who are less prejudiced are more likely to choose integration. Several of the studies cited here deal with this problem by comparing prejudice in integrated versus segregated environments in which participants have either integration or segregation, for example, applicants for public housing who are given a choice of their wishes to either a segregated or an integrated housing situation.

open occupancy rules forbidding ethnic discrimination. Residents who are more disposed to reduce their interethnic contacts. On the other hand, in socially segregated, the introduction of ethnic newcomers may exacerbate preexisting feelings of social distance by bringing to the fore fear of the unfamiliar or of status contamination. This is supported by the findings of an earlier study about the employment of white workers of southern origin in the South.<sup>54</sup> Killian found that some plant managers who hired black workers were reluctant to hire such "hillbillies" because of the trouble. Those managers who *did* hire white workers had to make it clear to them that they would be hired on an "as-is" basis. The quality of interracial relations depended on the conditions prevailing when these relations were started. If they were started under a "premise of equality," they were more likely to produce the hypothesized reduction in social distance in "low-status" conditions.

---

<sup>54</sup> M. Killian, "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations," *American Sociological Review* 17 (June 1952): 327-331.

## CHAPTER 5

# ETHNIC STRATIFICATION: PATTERNS OF DOMINANCE

In the preceding chapter we emphasized the element of *power* in social relationships to highlight one phase of ethnic stratification. In this chapter we focus on another fundamental feature of the orientation: the element of *power* in social relations, and the resulting patterns of dominance. In some conditions, some ethnic groups will establish dominance over other ethnic groups. A society in which there is a clear pattern of dominance and subordination between ethnic groups is said to have *ethnic stratification* prevails. Throughout this discussion we will use the terms *dominant group* and *minority group* to refer to the ethnic groups that occupy either high or low position in the ethnic stratification.

## DIMENSIONS OF STRATIFICATION

In contemporary sociological analysis of the distribution of power among ethnic groups is likely to be influenced more or less

er's famous essay on the subject entitled "Class, Status, and Power." The three terms in the title of this essay refer to three different ways in which power is differentially distributed among people. The term *class* refers to its economic power—its capacity to work, to own property, to replace, to command a favorable income, to possess, to consume, to monopolize consumer goods, etc. Most such distinctions are made in popular language by those words and phrases that distinguish the rich from the poor. A *status group*, in Weber's usage, is a group of people distinguished by a distinguishable level of social power, that is, who have the capacity to command respect or deferential treatment by other people. The term *prestige* is perhaps the nearest popular term for deferential treatment. Finally, *party* points to the differential power of groups, their ability or inability to work their wills in the social system, thus organs of government.

Weber's definitions of types of power provide the basic conceptual framework for asking questions about the nature of domination by some groups of human beings over other groups of human beings. In this sense, the three dimensions of stratification with reference to ethnicity, class, and status provide alternative models of power relationships come immediately to mind. The first model presents the possibility—indeed, often the reality—that power in one of these dimensions may be used to enhance power in another dimension, thus suggesting that Weber's dimensions of power are *interchangeable*. For instance, a group of wealthy persons may use that wealth to "buy" (directly or indirectly) of political office or to secure positions of honor or political influence for themselves; the politically powerful may use their power to secure wealth or social position; and so forth. The other model suggests that the dimensions of power may not always coincide—may, in fact, be mutually exclusive of one another. For example, persons of great wealth may not have honor or political influence if their wealth is the result of "dirty money"; the social elite of a community—its old family—may not be its wealthiest or most politically influential; the question of whether a given ethnic (or any other) group is dominant or subordinate at least entertain the possibility that social disadvantage may be the result of a group's lack of power in one or more of these dimensions.



not be generalized to a disability in all aspects of  
ence  
e take no position here on the relative merits of the  
dependence models of power relationships. A fully  
of ethnic relations between groups in a specific con  
h relations in Canada, Jewish-Gentile relations in  
d probably have to adopt one or the other of the  
the purpose of this book is not to describe fully and  
to furnish some tools for the analysis of specific sit  
lves in this chapter to a closer examination of some  
s involved in Weber's three dimensions of power.  
e, we shall examine below the three types of stratifi  
(, political) indicated by his analysis.<sup>2</sup>

## ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION

e general distinction between "the rich" and "the  
ly related to the interaction of different ethnic gr  
environment. Black, Indian, and Chicano Americ  
ound in overwhelming numbers among the poor, w  
ewish Americans tend to be among the affluent. S  
that it is sometimes argued that so-called race re  
s relations," that the "revolt against inequality," w  
n Chapter 7, is actually a revolt of the deprived eth  
conomic domination of peoples of European origin  
e importance of considering "class" in any discussi  
een ethnic groups was indicated in the previous ch  
that equal status is probably a necessary conditio  
ction in contact situations. When equal status is  
ly the case in interpersonal contact across ethnic  
situation being, for example, the unequal-status

---

some apology for using the term *social stratification* as one of  
ation since, from the author's viewpoint, all forms of stratificati  
sense of dealing with socially controlled relationships between

survey of some viewpoints of this type, along with an attempted  
wing that the revolutions in Zanzibar and Ruanda were essential  
of revolutions see Leo Kuper "Theories of Revolution and Race  
*Studies in Society and History* 13(January 1971) 87-107

owner and black employee), then it would appear to only engender social distance rather than reduce sociological discussion of economic stratification has been oriented toward the area of *employment* since, with individual's wealth or income is derived from some gain; in the case of inherited wealth, income is based on one's forebears. It seems reasonable, then, to concentrate on conditions that mark an ethnic group as a minority economic position. Economic disadvantage will result if an ethnic group experience one or more of these conditions: (1) employment in less remunerative lines of work, (2) employment in less remunerative lines of work, and (3) less remuneration than dominant-group in the same line of work (underpayment).

## Employment

a tight labor market—one in which there are few job seekers—the subordination of a minority group is the relative difficulty its members have in getting an job. The unemployment rate of black Americans has been higher than the unemployment rate of white Americans for fifteen years; and black unemployment is especially high.<sup>4</sup> The unemployment situation among American Indians is also high. In the "full employment" year of 1967, with an unemployment rate of 3.1 percent, the unemployment rate among Indians was 6.0 percent, while that of Indians living on reservations was 12.5 percent.<sup>5</sup> At about the same time there were certain reservations where the unemployment rate among Indian males was as high as 25 percent.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the wider consequences of high unemployment among Indian members have been noted. In the case of the American Indians, a high proportion of alcoholics among the Indian population is a result of the frustrations attending the abject poverty in which they live.

---

4. E. Anderson, "Full Employment and Economic Equality," *American Journal of Political and Social Science*, 418(March, 1975):127-132.  
5. L. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid* (Washington, D. C. : American Indian Education, 1970), p.12.

6. L. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid*, p. 14

le live.<sup>7</sup> In the case of blacks, the well-publicized 'y in black families is apparently largely the result of employed (or underemployed) husband to provide ec and children. This failure to provide weakens the a direct economic sense and in a more extended onomically, the presence of an unemployed man be an out-and-out liability. A mother's eligibility t ance (Aid to Dependent Children, or ADC) to sup be based on the existence of a household without Thus, many black men are actually discouraged fro es in a husband-father role. As Billingsley puts it: "M o families are often forced to choose (due to current een a father in the home and money in the home pragmatic choice for money."<sup>8</sup>

According to the interchangeability conception of po economic deprivation, especially among young b to generate subordination in the area of social po ty that emphasizes the male role as breadwinner, de this bread suffers a loss of social respectability es on welfare, he is likely to find himself labeled b ociety as a "have not" without will or gumption to m asite who would rather take a handout than get a d male thus has nothing to give his family in the wa ing in the community. With the loss of social respec urse, a loss of self-respect<sup>10</sup> and, perhaps, an attempt

---

study of off-reservation Indian behavior that illustrates this rela onomic privation, see Theodore D. Graves, "The Personal A Migrants to Denver, Colorado," *American Anthropologist*, 72

ow Billingsley, *Black Families in White America* (Englewood Cliffs pp 156, 157

Komarovsky, *The Unemployed Man and His Family* (New York ed , New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

effect is demonstrated in, among other studies, Elliott Liebow, *T Brown*, 1966), David Schulz, *Coming Up Black Patterns of wood Cliffs, N J: Prentice-Hall, 1969), Ulf Hannerz, "Roots action*, 6(October, 1969) 13-21. Banton comments on "an i a white supremacy society, the Negro women gain a relative ac ess from racial subordination than their men and because the e mits the to seize greater authority n domestic matter

status loss by withdrawing into a hell-raising street culture of the "boys."<sup>11</sup>

## Underemployment

Data on the rate of unemployment among members of the black community, of course, only a relatively small part of the picture. The disadvantage arising from limited employment opportunities for black men—even young ones—have jobs of some kind, but they tend to be concentrated at levels or in fields that are low-paying. Some indications of this: in 1969, although blacks constituted 12 percent of the population of the United States, only 3 percent were classified as "managers, officials, and proprietors" while 26 percent of "professional and technical" workers were black. "Craftsmen and foremen" were nonwhite, while fully 50 percent of "farm laborers" and 44 percent of all "private household workers" were nonwhite.<sup>12</sup>

**Black enterprise.** The relatively small number of American blacks in "managers, officials, and proprietors" suggests an aspiration for upward mobility that has been of much interest in the black community. The subject has also generated a considerable body of literature. Some blacks and those friendly to their situation have advocated ownership of business—especially businesses catering to the black community. "Black capitalism" is often seen as something of a panacea for the economic ills, since it is widely believed that black employers are less racially discriminatory in their hiring practices than white employers and that the profits of black-owned business would be reinvested in the black community.

---

compensatory explanation of young black male street behavior. See J. Edgar Hoover and M. S. Edmonson (eds.), *The Eighth Generation: Culture and Change among the New Orleans Negroes* (New York: Harper, 1960). It also follows closely the idea that delinquent lower-class gang activity represents an attempt by young blacks to create a delinquent world in which they can succeed for a legitimate purpose. See Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York: Free Press, 1955).

George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities in American Society* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1972), p. 323.

Other titles in this literature include James M. Hund, *Black Entrepreneurship* (New York: Wadsworth, 1970), Earl Ofari, *The Myth of Black Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books Press, 1970), Ronald W. Bailey (ed.), *Black Business Enterprise* (New York: Free Press, 1971), Edwin M. Epstein and David R. Hampton (eds.), *Black Business and the American Economy* (Berkeley, Calif.: Dickenson, 1971).

black economy rather than being used to enrich white people. The sociologists' questions on this matter seem to have been so little self-employment among blacks that to what extent could discrimination in the job market be offset by putting more ownership of employing organizations in the hands of blacks?

At the first point—the dearth of black entrepreneurial activity—there has been a variety of explanations. To illustrate, we can look at the second point. It has been argued that black Americans—unlike other ethnic groups such as the Jews or the Chinese—have not been successful in self-employment.<sup>14</sup> An aspect of the “communal deprivation” suffered by slavery was their enforced inability to engage in economic or social activity, entrepreneurial or otherwise.<sup>15</sup> A group that builds family businesses are built up over several generations, and the business acquires a clientele through the development of a reputation in the community (legally called “goodwill”) and through technological know-how and often inherited capital. Thus any present lack of entrepreneurial activity among blacks is the result of such activity among the forebears of currently existing black ethnic group.

In contrasting the lack of business ownership among blacks with the entrepreneurial success of some other ethnic groups, it has been argued that the cultural distinctiveness of a group and the tendency to maintain a unique ethnic life style may have encouraged entrepreneurship among ethnic groups, but not for blacks.<sup>16</sup> Peoples with strong traditional cultures who maintain a “sojourner” attitude

---

Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 411; Eugene P. Foley, “The Negro Businessman. In Search of a Model,” *Black Caucus*, 95(Winter, 1966):107–144.

Simon Bryce-Laporte, “The American Slave Plantation and Our Present Situation,” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 12(March–April, 1969):1–10.

Robert H. Kinzer and Edward Sagarin, *The Negro in American Society: From Separation and Integration* (New York: Greenberg, 1950). In London, England, Dahya points out that Pakistani businessmen, despite their small numbers, have a vested interest in their customers remaining Pakistani. These businessmen tend to be very active in promoting community development. For a different flavor, see Badr Dahya, “The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in India,” in Robert Cohen (ed.), *Urban Ethnicity* (London: Tavistock, 1974), pp. 11–22.

ence in a country are inclined to resist acculturation, and to consume goods. Thus Americans of Chinese or Puerto Rican ancestry are likely to patronize grocery stores that cater to the tastes of people from these countries. Black Americans, however, are more in tune with native African tastes, and the American "soul" culture designated as "soul" has generated little resistance. It is hard to satisfy the consumer demands of that life style. But it does exist—in the rather extensive production of soul food. In short—the pattern of black consumer demands bears a striking resemblance to the pattern of business interests that prevails here, as elsewhere. The foregoing interpretation of why black entrepreneurship is so often criticized by Light, who offers an alternative interpretation, is what he compared Japanese, Chinese, and black American entrepreneurship with reference to their entrepreneurial activities.<sup>19</sup> The Japanese, in contrast with the blacks, have been heavily involved in entrepreneurship in America. This propensity of the Japanese to engage in entrepreneurial activity *cannot*, Light argued, be explained by the tendency of such businesses to cater to the specific demands of an ethnic clientele. For one thing, the entrepreneurship conducted by Orientals in a given community is not always the case if there were sole or principal demanders of such a clientele. The Chinese restaurant or laundry, the Japanese business—all depend for their success on support from a specific ethnic community. For another, those Oriental businesses that are not by ethnic clienteles may be heavily involved in commerce that does not reflect traditional life styles. Chinese groceries, for example, as well as ginger root, and when Chinese-Americans are shopping, they may well be buying non-Chinese goods from a Chinese store.

---

New York City, for example, with its proliferation of "ethnic" restaurants, etc.—the "soul" restaurant is almost totally absent. Baklava is a common item of restaurants, but where can one buy a serving of turnip greens?

This situation may reflect the fact that "soul" musical styles tend to be popular among those who are also interested in the soul life style. The three major commercial styles—jazz, and urban blues (as opposed to "country" music)—have been popular among the black community. Charles Keil, *Urban Blues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

H. Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

suggests that the crucial difference between Orientals and Americans may be the existence among Orientals but not Americans of a traditional system that makes it relatively easy for an entrepreneur to acquire the capital needed to start up a business. It describes the operation of the exotic (from an Occidental point of view) form of the "rotating credit association" that makes it possible for a participant in the scheme to have unrestricted use of the capital contributed by the participants. Oriental entrepreneurs in America have made much use of this device for capitalization of businesses. Deprived of this source,<sup>20</sup> have had to depend on banks and lending agencies. If controlled by whites, these lending agencies have tended to be racially discriminatory in their lending policies. If controlled by blacks, they have tended to be unstable financial institutions.

Another explanation for the differences in entrepreneurial behavior between Orientals and blacks is suggested in the notion of the middleman in ethnic stratification systems.<sup>21</sup> Middlemen exist between the most dominant and the most subordinate groups in a population. This middleman function often takes the form of merchandising, the conveying of goods from dominant producers to the masses, who cannot profit from their production, to the masses, who cannot afford to buy them. The merchants tend to be rather precariously balanced between the hostile reactions of both dominant and subordinate groups. They are often seen as too grubby and calculating, subordinates of the dominant group who sell shoddy goods at exorbitant prices.<sup>22</sup> The position of themselves in their social environments, and the fact that they must face the classic problem of getting started in a new business, the problem of credit to capitalize a business, as dis-

---

<sup>20</sup> This indicates that very similar customs were found in traditional America. As we have already noted, the experience of slavery in the United States is linked from this ethnic tradition.

<sup>21</sup> Robert M. Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations* (New York, pp. 79-84, Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38(October, 1973) 583-594.

<sup>22</sup> The attitudes of black ghetto residents toward white merchants and the feelings of the merchants, see David Boesel et al., "White Institutional Racism," *Black Caucus*, 6(March, 1969):24-31. That so-called black anti-Semitism is a resentment of the behavior of Jews in such "middleman" or "broker" roles is noted in Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Selznick, *The Tenacity of Tradition* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 1, 7, 31.

ingness to work long hours for a minimum standard  
s can be plowed back into the business to expand  
perhaps it requires something of the "sojourner" attitude  
to be able to endure these conditions. People  
poised and rejected" in the immediate social environment  
that eventually they will return home to live and  
le after having turned a tidy profit on "overseas  
ty. Such consideration would certainly explain some  
s in entrepreneurial activity between blacks and Orientals.  
icans have always understood that, for better or worse,  
y. Many Oriental immigrants (as well as Italian, Greek,  
can-American, etc.) have assumed, at least in the early  
n the United States, that they would be returning  
igin. Although probably most Americans of Oriental  
now here to stay, their desire to stay may be one of the  
ear earlier economic success. Having achieved middle-  
middleman economic roles, they now are loathe to  
apan that is about as remote to their personal experience  
of most other Americans.<sup>24</sup>

**cs in the labor market.** Self-employment is clearly  
ast" in the occupational scene in the United States.  
ountries, and most ethnic group members must start  
on their ability to make themselves "salable" to the  
s for their work. This fact is as true for white-collar

---

sociologically educated reader may recognize in this work syndr  
ber's attribution of the influence of a "Protestant ethic" on the c  
s adhering to the Calvinist brand of Protestantism. The parallel  
e that Weber also described the early capitalist entrepreneur as  
d" among his peers, who still felt commercial enterprise was  
ed—a view contrary to the hard-working "sober bourgeois"  
st, who saw commercial success as a mark of God's blessing. C  
s today, because there is no religious ethic (except possibly the  
s) that gives strong sanction to entrepreneurial activity, ethnic  
r attitudes have taken on these marginal economic roles. Max V  
*and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York  
ne indication of this, Kitano reports that newly arrived immig  
be understood by Japanese-Americans several generations removed  
their ancestors—and that the newcomers may be objects of d  
ferred to as F.O.B.'s (Fresh Off the Boat). Harry H. L. Kitano  
Cliff, New York, 1969, pp. 122, 123.



changing or scientific research as it is for blue-collar workers. The question to be addressed in this section is: To what extent do minority group members denied opportunities to compete for jobs with members of the dominant ethnic group? A number of sociological studies have indicated the tendency of minority group members in occupations of lower status.<sup>25</sup> A typical observation is that there is a dual labor market, for example, native British workers dominating the higher rank while the less desirable occupations are taken by Commonwealth immigrants.<sup>26</sup>

There may, of course, be explanations other than discrimination for these occupational distributions (some of these explanations will be discussed in the following chapter). The inadequate education of minority groups may be a factor in their occupational disadvantage. There is also a tendency toward a "culture of poverty," where a fatalistic attitude is tied to their low social position. But even when these variables are controlled for, as in a recent study of the benefits under social security,<sup>28</sup> it can be shown that a given level of education and a given work attitude make minority groups disadvantaged compared with whites who have the same education and a similar attitude toward work.

Employment opportunities for minority groups are largely determined by the distribution of residential and employment patterns of the dominant groups. Traditionally, the movement of the white population away from the central city has opened up job opportunities for recent migrant groups willing to settle in the core area.<sup>29</sup> The rapid suburbanization of the white population

---

number of such studies of minority ethnic groups in the United States. See John H. Coatsworth and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, chap. 11.

26. Douglas Bosanquet and Peter B. Doeringer, "Is There a Dual Labor Market?" *Economic Journal*, 83 (June, 1973) 421-435.

27. Seymour Lieberson and Glenn V. Fuguitt, "Negro-White Occupational Segregation: A Measure of Discrimination," *American Journal of Sociology*, 73 (September, 1968) 104-125.

28. Arthur A. Spreitzer and Saad Z. Nagi, "Race and Equality of Opportunity," *Phylon*, 34 (September, 1973) 248-255.

29. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1945). The same process of occupational mobility of minority groups as later groups arrive is described in John Brown, *The New Town and Its Immigrants* (London: Macmillan, 1970).

s following World War II may have opened up jobs for blacks, who were generally left behind in the 1940s. A picture emerges of a lessening gap between occupational opportunities available to the two races. A substantial gap remains, partly because employment opportunities in the inner city have not kept pace with changes in the composition of urban neighborhoods.

A study of black ghetto areas in Boston, Chicago, and New York shows this fact that despite residential turnover in the inner city, opportunities may still be somewhat limited.<sup>31</sup> In these areas, employers in black ghetto areas tend to be whites who commute several miles from their places of business and employ white workers who also live outside the ghetto. These employers are often people who once lived in the area and lost their jobs even though they no longer live in the ghetto. Neither the white owner nor the white wage earner stands apart necessarily out of a strong desire to hold onto these economic opportunities. In the case of the white businessman, he may find the cost of relocation prohibitive, or he may be willing to sell but cannot find anyone with enough capital to buy him out. The white worker may not be able to find a job closer to home. Even if the jobs in the ghettos were transferred to black owners and if they were employed by these owners, Aldrich shows that only 40 percent of the residents could be so employed. Black ghetto areas are "labor exporters," which means many ghetto residents seek employment outside the ghetto and contend with all the other workers who exist in the general labor market.

## Overpayment

Even though members of an ethnic minority may achieve a quality of opportunity to secure "better" lines of employment, they may be victims of discriminatory wage-payment practices. Members of dominant groups are paid more than minority groups.

---

31. C. Hodge, "The Negro Job Situation: Has It Improved?" *Monthly Review*, 1969, pp. 20-28; Reynolds Farley and Albert Hermalin, "The Job Situation for Blacks?" *Demography*, 9(1972):353-370.

32. R. E. Aldrich, "Employment Opportunities for Blacks in the Inner City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1970, pp. 1-15.

gh both are doing the same work. To illustrate, in northern Rhodesia, industrial employers (with the support of unions) maintain one wage scale for European workers and a lower one for native workers.<sup>32</sup> This discriminatory policy is based on the grounds that the standard of living in Rhodesia is lower than that prevailing in the European countries. Native workers, Powdermaker indicates, are falling behind the bitter reaction to the policy by the natives. They have acquired quite modern tastes in consumption, but are economically deprived relative to the white workers. In the United States, studies of the earning power of blacks and Mexican-Americans suggest a similar "cost" of belonging to one of these groups.<sup>33</sup> Siegel found, for example, that when other disadvantages (poorer education, etc.) were taken into account, blacks lost one thousand dollars in annual income to be white in the mid-sixties. These studies also show that the disadvantage of blacks and Mexican-Americans is especially acute in lower-level occupations. This suggests that efforts by blacks to prepare themselves for more lucrative occupations (e.g., higher education, for example) are less likely to "pay off" in higher income than similar efforts made by whites. This latter finding is, moreover, contradicted by recent evidence of dramatic income gains for blacks at the "professional" occupational level.<sup>34</sup> The demand for blacks in the public sector or the "token integration" needs of universities, government agencies, etc. has given those relatively few blacks in these positions a competitive advantage over whites.<sup>35</sup> These studies of the "cost" of being a member of a minority group seem to come fully to grips with the possibility that

---

Ernest Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa, The Human Cost of the Copperbelt* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 89-90.

33. M. Siegel, "On the Cost of Being a Negro," *Sociological Inquiry*, 36 (1966), 1-10; Dudley L. Poston and David Alvarez, "On the Cost of Being Black," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53 (March, 1973), 697-709.

34. J. B. Freeman, "Decline of Labor Market Discrimination and the Black Worker," *American Economic Review Proceedings and Papers*, 67 (May, 1977), 1-10.

35. An indication of some of the employment advantages associated with being a woman (and women) and minority ethnic status (blacks), see Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "The Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professionals," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (January, 1973), 912-935.

reflect not so much income discrimination *within* as the continued exclusion of ethnic group members from occupations. To show, for example, that white plumbers earn more than black plumbers *may* be to show that black plumbers are far from the status of "master" plumber with its accompanying income.

In the case of Mexican-Americans, a careful study of Chicanos in Texas and California reveals that they earn less money than Anglos in similar lines of work. However, there was only a very slight discrimination against Mexican-Americans. Even in Texas, where income discrimination is more pronounced, the average income of Chicano workers ranges from 80 to 90 percent of the average income of other workers in the same occupation. Grebler, Moore, and Guzman feel that the demands, which minority groups are demanding, often through a labor union, may indeed lead to the elimination of income differences *within* an occupational category without necessarily ensuring equal access to that occupation. In fact, these authors argue that standardized wage scales may actually work *against* this goal. Access to the "better" jobs: "Mexican-Americans enjoy standardized wages at the price of low employment representation for these better wages."<sup>37</sup> The authors do not really believe that "employment representation" is a necessary "price" for wage standardization. It may simply be that Mexican-Americans and other ethnic minorities, have been more successful in insuring income for their relatively "successful" members than for the less successful. It has been successes under less discriminatory social conditions that gives the imagination, for example, to believe that the success of black Americans was retarded by the successes of the whites, which, as has often been noted, benefited primarily the whites. Enough resources to be in some kind of competitive position. Although social movements can often be criticized for not attending to the needs of the masses of a minority group, it is not wise to suggest that the continued subordination of mo-

---

Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, *The Mexican-American People* (New York: Free Press 1970), pp. 239-245.

Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, *The Mexican-American People* p. 239.

bers is the price that must be paid for the success of these efforts.<sup>38</sup>

## POLITICAL STRATIFICATION

The political power of an ethnic group is measured by its ability to influence the course of those governmental actions (laws, arrests by police, sentences by judges, etc.) that affect its members. In this section we shall discuss the position of minorities in terms of their political power on three levels: (1) political autonomy, the right of a minority group to establish its own political institutions and to provide political interference; (2) political influence, the ability of group members to influence governmental decisions that affect them, as opposed to those influenced by other groups; and (3) civil rights, the ability of group members to demand and receive equal treatment from the agencies of government. In discussing each of these dimensions of political power, we shall observe some of the great variations in the ability of different peoples to exercise these powers.

### Political Autonomy

A characteristic feature of any fully developed human community is the ability of the people in that community to exercise the political functions that affect them and their members. While no political jurisdiction is completely autonomous under modern political conditions, etc.—is completely autonomous under modern political conditions, since the people in each jurisdiction are subject to laws made by a higher level of authority—the national state, for example, there are more or less well-established areas of “local control” or “local autonomy” in political systems. The degree of such local autonomy varies greatly, a subject of great controversy. The controversy is frequently heightened when the residents of a local community belong to an ethnic group that is a people of a race, religion, or national origin different from the majority people in the society. Black people in Harlem, Canada in Quebec, French-Canadians in Montreal, for example, are subject to laws not of their own making and not controlled by the members of their ethnic groups.

---

It is not, of course, to deny that there may be this kind of feeling of frustration among members of an ethnic group who must live with their own lack of advancement and who are unable to influence the members of their own group.

probably the clearest examples of ethnic groups deprived for political autonomy are those *colonial* situations in which a people, usually a major European power like Britain, establishes its domination over a "native" people and enforces the authority of the laws of the colonizing power. As we have seen, there is some variation in this practice: "direct rule" may mean the laws of the colonizing power for those of the colony, or it may leave intact much of the traditional native political structure. In an important differentiation, a colony by definition involves political domination, and it may be no less complete for the colony than for the political figures whose continuation in power is assured. The colonial authorities may develop an understandable sensitivity to the idea of ruling "autonomously" in a way that satisfies colonial interests. In the last several years, a number of American sociologists have developed the concept of "internal colonialism" to describe the conditions of several ethnic groups within the United States, such as the Blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians, to a greater or lesser degree. To deprive the political rights of citizens of the country, to impose laws which, and perhaps an accurate one, that the communities are really very much like colonies in that the important decisions affecting their lives are made by people and through processes in which they have little effectual control. Just as "class" has been articulated in the movements for liberation of native peoples from colonial domination (with the more or less willing acquiescence of the colonizing power), the existence of internal colonialism has led to calls for Black liberation or some other expression of the idea that an ethnic group should have political autonomy in their own communities. In the United States, at least, internal colonialism has been so prominent a theme in the last movements, we shall defer further consideration of the concept of political autonomy and concentrate in the rest of this chapter on the evolution of political autonomy experienced by people in other parts of the world.

Internal colonialism in the classic sense, that is, the political domination of a people by the great European powers—British, French, Dutch,

---

Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt," *Social Forces* 39:3 (1960) 393-408. Joan W. Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican Revolution," *American Journal of Sociology* 75:4 (1970) 463-472. Robert K. Thomas, "Colonialism and the New World," *Journal of Thought* 41 (1966) 37-44.

Dutch etc. is a most striking of history with a few continued French domination in parts of the West. The legacy of foreign political domination lives on in the politics of independent nations. One consequence of colonial withdrawal is the artificiality of political jurisdictions imposed on the ground. Intertribal civil war followed the removal of the French from the Congo (now the Republic of Zaire), for example. Independence movements proliferated—the unsuccessful Ibos in Nigeria, the unsuccessful Bengalese in Bangladesh—demonstrating that the removal from a colonial power is not enough to satisfy the demands of ethnic groups for political autonomy if one of the several groups in the new nation feels that the country is being partitioned for the benefit of the dominant ethnic group. The political aftermath of great power colonialism depends in large extent on the process by which colonies attain independence. For one thing, there is a difference between independence won with the acceptance or even active encouragement of the colonizer, and independence won after bitter conflict between the colonizer and the colonized. Under British colonial policy, native peoples were considered politically immature but, under British tutelage, capable of self-government.<sup>41</sup> This philosophy influenced the willingness of the British in the independence movements of most of her colonies. It did not prevent fierce resistance in Cyprus and India, but the reluctance to let go was apparently based on a sense of responsibility in the continued political domination in these areas. The French, on the other hand, operated under an “assimilationist” policy. The natives would eventually become full-fledged French citizens, and or “metropolitan” France. This philosophy made the French reluctant to relinquish colonial control; the long struggles in Indochina and Algeria are well-known results. These variations in policy will influence the fate of those European “colonials” who remain in their colonies when independence is attained.

---

<sup>41</sup> For a description of the apparently stable French colonial presence in the French West Indies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, see Chester L. Hunt and John H. Coatsworth, *French Colonialism* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1974), pp. 207–214.

<sup>42</sup> See John H. Coatsworth, *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 1–2. For reference to the “paternalist” tendency in British colonial policy and the “assimilationist” tendency in French policy, see Coatsworth, *Patterns of Dominance*, pp. 1–2.

other profoundly important variation in the nature of the process is whether political control passes from the hands of the indigenous people, as was the case in India, or, as happened in Rhodesia, it passes into the hands of the settlers, whose control of the political apparatus guarantees their dominance over the indigenous people. Very different interests are at stake in newly independent nations, depending on the access of the indigenous people to political power. In nations where natives who successfully revolt are likely to use their economic power to make life very difficult for the European settlers, as in the Algerian revolution, for example, was followed by widespread expropriation of the agricultural holdings of the French settlers,<sup>42</sup> or as followed by the new native government in Kenya which expropriated the settlers in that country.<sup>43</sup> In colonies that had colonial rule but very few settlers—as was generally true of British colonies in Africa—this effect of independence was, of course, greatly reduced. For other ethnic people who may experience hardship in the process are those immigrants who have entered the colonies in such roles as colonial exploiters to supplement an inadequate supply of labor. The Chinese entered southeast Asia to fill such specific roles while this area was under European colonial rule. Subsequent difficulties in such newly independent nations as Indonesia reflect native feelings against people who are seen as competitors.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, a great many people of Asian origin, especially the Chinese, entered African colonies in such roles and have experienced postrevolutionary persecution: the recent mass expropriation in Uganda is a prominent example.<sup>45</sup> In nations where settler-sponsored anticolonial revolts are likely to have occurred, the balance of political power between settler and native interests is crucial. So long as an imperial power administers a colony through a colonial office, it can afford—indeed, may even be obliged to—maintain an “enlightened” or paternalistic attitude toward

---

R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969) 100–101.  
Hald Rothchild, “Kenya’s Africanization Program: Priorities of Development,” *American Political Science Review*, 64 (September, 1970) 737–744.  
E. Williams, *The Future of the Overseas Chinese* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) 100–101.  
L. van den Berghe, “Asians in East and South Africa,” in *Piercing the Veil of Ethnicity* (New York: Basic Books, 1970) pp. 276–303.



<sup>46</sup> If nothing else, the colonial power may be constrained on the international stage and, when a demand for universal human equality prevails, may need to assure that its technological power is not for the raw exploitation of revolutionary settler governments, however, while likely to value the value system of the mother country, are much more concerned with systems of survival and prosperity in their territory of residence. Rapid population growth makes them either land or job hungry, and it is an immediate interest to deprive the natives of these privileges. Zimbabwe or a Rhodesia, freed of British colonial restraints, might have a very repressive system such as *apartheid*. The policy of "Indian Removal," by which the young government of the United States moved the numerous Indians from the Atlantic coastal areas into areas of the then-remote West, would perhaps have been unthinkable without colonial rule.

## Political Influence

Although an ethnic group may have difficulty maintaining its autonomy or self-government, they may still gain significant influence in the direction of affairs in their social environment. Indeed, a central tenet of political theory of pluralism argues that political decisions should seek to represent a balance (or compromise) among the competing demands of *all* significant social groupings, ethnic or otherwise. Although blacks or Puerto Ricans in a given community may not be politically self-governing by any means, they may be able to influence policies and laws directly affecting their vital interests. This is because, if for no other reason, competing political groups will seek to be rivals for the voting support of members of such groups.

---

<sup>47</sup> In a country like Spain, which is not usually noted for its "paternalistic" policies toward its indigenous peoples, may have exercised such constraints on its settler colonies. Spanish control over local policies of powerful Spanish settler colonies was probably slight. Hunt and Walker, *Ethnic Dynamics*, pp. 10-11. The severely repressive policies toward native peoples that followed the removal of the United States and other countries from British colonial control, are discussed in *Settlers and Native Peoples* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1975). See also Robert A. Dahl, *Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

ch political pluralism is not always the case, however. A series of studies of decision-making processes in governing matters, such as public housing, that *do* concern the interests of black residents of the city.<sup>49</sup> These studies suggest that white political forces in the city have conspired to limit the influence of blacks on decisions that directly concern them. The administration of Mayor Lindsay was committed to locating housing projects on "white" sites for housing projects rather than to continue to locate housing projects in or near established "black" areas. As a result, the vehement opposition of middle-class whites to the proposed sites made the scattered scheme impossible to implement, although they were an important part of the coalition that elected and reelected Mayor Lindsay, blacks found that they were not rewarded with concrete political decisions such as the right to receive from the city government. The realization of the futility of advancing their interests through the support of "white liberals" or other dominant groups has led minority groups to seek influence by election or appointment of their own representatives to positions of political influence. Several studies have indicated the success of such efforts. Although a substantial proportion of the population in Chicago, blacks were only rarely found in major decision-making positions, especially in the private sector (e.g., on the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, of private colleges and universities). The positions of political prominence that *were* held by blacks were at lower level positions, or to be those in which the black population was most exclusively black (e.g. a black labor leader in an industrial union, a city councilman from a black ghetto ward). A study of the exclusion of blacks from major power positions in Chicago was incomplete.<sup>51</sup> Among business leaders, for example, the study found that only 1 black among the 1,867 "key positions" in business

---

John Bellush and Stephen David (eds.), *New York City: Five Studies* (New York: Praeger, 1971).

Walter D. M. Baron et al., "Black Powerlessness in Chicago," *Transitions* 13 (1972): 27-33.

H. Fleming, J. John Palen, Grant Ringlien, and Corneff Taylor, "Decision-Making Positions," *Sociological Quarterly* 13 (1972): 126-

ary, a study in Toronto, a city with a notably high homogeneity (about 40 percent of the city's population born), found a continued pattern of Anglo-Saxon power positions in the city.<sup>52</sup>

An ethnic group's prospects for political influence were considerably enhanced when the population of an area was near-majority of members of that ethnic group. This was true, as recent analysis has suggested is true in the United States, of the persisting "ethnic factor" in political behavior, with Catholics for Catholic political candidates, blacks for black candidates, and the possibility for political *dominance* of a minority group. This situation has assumed special interest in the United States because of the increasing concentration of blacks in areas where they may attain a majority or near-majority of population. The prospect that they will elect political leaders who will, once in office, to respond to the special political needs of the black community. Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, was, in 1967, elected mayor of a major American city. Since then, other cities now have black mayors include Newark, Los Angeles, Oakland, and Atlanta.

Whether black people in high political office will respond to the needs desired by black people is another matter. Having a black person in political office may be no more a guarantee of change than being a vital part of a coalition was a guarantee of change in political decisions for New York blacks. An analysis of Richard Hatcher in Gary illustrates some of the limitations of black mayors on behalf of black people.<sup>54</sup> Hatcher's basic problem was to overcome the traditional political machine by the main industry of the city, United States Steel, a politically white Catholic Democratic political machine that had been in power for years more or less in the interest of the steel company. When installed political heads, Hatcher "inherited" a bu-

---

Enjoy Kelner, "Ethnic Penetration Into Toronto's Elite Structure," *Sociology and Anthropology*, 7(May, 1970), 128-137.

53 R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer, *The Ethnic Factor: How Ethnicity Affects Elections* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

54 David Greer, "The Liberation of Gary, Indiana," *Trans-action* 8(1).

nts who were in most cases white, who were more  
Hatcher regime, but whose expertise was vital to his  
the new mayor disappointed the expectations of  
assumed there would be a massive movement of  
employment upon the advent of Hatcher's administrat  
support (which Hatcher very successfully did), b  
al from one of encouraging participation by blacks  
of demonstrating what his administration was doing  
of improving their condition. On this matter, Hat  
onstrate a great deal. Since Gary was the first ma  
mayor, the city was the focus of much black atte  
e time of Mayor Hatcher's election, the Johnson-H  
rt Kennedy wings of the national Democratic Party  
ously for black support. Hatcher found it quite easy  
el Cities and other federal money for Gary (to such  
r "headache" in the early part of his administratio  
preoccupation of his staff with applications for fe  
political leaders must face many of the same probl  
l, with the additional limitation that, unlike Mayor H  
dvantage of "novelty" or of being singled out as sy  
natory policy in the wider society.

## 1 Rights of Ethnic Groups

en *without* any direct influence on the agencies of  
only without any power to maintain such agencies  
from those of the wider society), members of an  
assert certain "rights" as citizens because of the equ  
e political institutions under which they live. Thus t  
untry may guarantee (as does the Fourteenth Ar  
tution of the United States) the "equal protection o  
regard to such matters as "race, creed, or color  
itution, the rights of citizenship may be extended to  
y introduced to an area without regard for the po  
ence of that group. That this "equal protection" of

---

er compares the problem of Hatcher in this regard to that of th  
s of black Africa, which are dependent on the technical expe  
ers of an earlier era. For a description of such problems in one  
and Kenya's                      zation Program.

be based on political influence is not of course legislation of the 1960s in the United States (voting rights, public accommodations, etc.) was certainly influenced by the threat of black political influence at all levels from the street riot. Many other ethnic groups (e.g., Chicano) were potential participants in the process of making those decisions, unless the recipients of the new "protection" so provoked the law, or indeed whether, a government chooses to enforce the "protection" guaranteed by the laws of the land is another question. In any case, uneven enforcement seems to be a feature of environments that are ethnically stratified. A frequent complaint is that such agencies of law enforcement as the police are in fact discriminatory in their treatment of people of different groups. For this reason, it is often argued, the high crime rates of ethnic groups are actually the result of discriminatory administration of criminal justice. Blacks in the United States (and Māori in New Zealand, for example, are found guilty of crime several times higher than those prevailing among the whites of these two countries.<sup>56</sup> American blacks have felt that their crime rates reflect the oversensitivity of the police to offenses committed by blacks. The "police brutality" about which they complain is largely a matter of the humiliation blacks feel in being treated as suspicious persons simply because they are black. Thus, in addition to the racial tension that preceded the 1965 riot in Los Angeles was the police practice of stopping and frisking blacks "loitering" on the streets in the area.<sup>57</sup> The police, after all, can exercise a great deal of discretion in dealing with offenders or suspected offenders (arresting vs. arresting and questioning vs. looking the other way, etc.). In the case of police treatment of juveniles suggests that this discretion is not unexpected, since juvenile officers are skeptical (probably because of the) of the reformative value of arrest and possible

---

black vs. white crime rates in the United States, see Marvin E. Wolfgang, *Crime and Race* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1958). For New Zealand, see Patrick O'Malley, "The Amplification of Māori Ethnic Barriers to Equal Justice in New Zealand," *Race*, 15(July, 1972), 1-10; and Robert Blauner, "Whitewash Over Watts," *Transaction*, 3(March-

g offenders.<sup>58</sup> Police officers are thus encouraged to  
t the suspect's "character." They tend to be m  
ced by suspects who are very deferential to or re  
rity, and by those who seem sincerely repentant.  
live in ghetto environments and view the police as  
ly hostile to and alienated from the authority sta  
s of the society, may find it especially difficult to  
e use their "discretion" against them in a negative  
ce minority group members become embroiled in  
ng with criminal charges in a court of law, they  
nces of "unequal" protection, such as the difficulty  
tting bail before trial, a suspended sentence if co  
e if sent to prison.<sup>59</sup> These discriminations may re  
determinants of "discretion" by judges, juries, a  
were mentioned above in the case of police officers.  
stitution of New Zealand states that a defendant i  
en guilty." White New Zealanders, however, harbor  
stereotypes" about the typical behavior of the Ma  
if a Maori is accused of a crime of a certain sort,  
ne his guilt because they feel that "that's the way th  
gal discrimination based on such stereotyping may p  
of civil rights of a more subtle nature as well. Domin  
of minority group members as being "just that w  
nal behavior may lead to a condoning of acts of  
Since the victims of these acts are likely to be othe  
c group, minority groups may find themselves with  
and court protection against victimization by the  
in a traditional southern community the white ste  
al mores emphasizes the sexual promiscuity of b  
en. It is very difficult, therefore, for a white judge  
a black woman could be raped, since it is assumed

---

g Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles,"  
ogy, 70(September, 1964):206-214.

in T. Turk, *Criminality and the Legal Order* (Chicago: Rand M  
Burns, "Can A Black Man Get a Fair Trial in This Country?" *New*  
2, 1970, p. 5+.

alley "Amplification of Maori Crime"

g to be victimized by any and all comers.<sup>6</sup> Even that it is difficult to prosecute a rapist because of the victim's own culpability is perhaps even more of a problem for other minorities who are made to suffer in this and other ways by the indifference of law-enforcement officials who operate on a "technics" basis.

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

To discuss *social stratification*—that is, dominance and subordination in an area of social respectability—is virtually to deal with the social exclusions of ethnic minorities, since almost any exclusion, occupational or otherwise, may be experienced as a degradation of a person's human worth. Thus, the wage differential may not only fail to cover expenses for needed or desired goods, but may be defined by its recipient as a "slap in the face" if the amount is less than that paid to one's colleagues. To receive no better than oneself. We have already noted that the term *social worth* carries a connotation of negative respectability. Since the concept of differential social worth is so complex and multifaceted, we cannot attempt to cover the whole subject here. Instead, we shall focus on the major areas in which the "honor" of an ethnic people is threatened, in which discrimination is experienced as an assault on the self-dignity of members of minority groups.

## Discriminatory Etiquette

*Etiquette*—the body of rules that determines "proper" behavior in social situations—is likely to be defined in terms of how people of one category should treat members of other categories: a child should not talk back, a professor should try to learn the names of his students, a man should open the door for a lady, etc. A small portion of this body of rules is codified in books of etiquette, but most are simply part of the unwritten code in one's customary social milieu. Children learn these things by observation and adult guidance and so are more likely to blunder as, for example, when a child asks an adult

on only to be reminded by the adult's cool reaction  
of etiquette has been violated.

Goffman has noted, there is a general tendency for  
re that people treat one another in a way that protects  
ty or "face" of each individual.<sup>62</sup> While all people need  
t" to respectful treatment by others, clearly some are  
s to claim this right. Goffman illustrates this fact by  
ital situation, there is an asymmetrical or nonreciprocal  
ch rights"—doctors have the right to touch nurses and  
the right to touch patients, but patients do not have  
s or doctors, and nurses do not have the right to touch  
man is here drawing upon Simmel's insight that a person's  
rived from that person's capacity to resist intrusion  
cy, including familiar access to parts of his body.<sup>64</sup> This  
metrical tendency in rules of etiquette is found in  
ered persons, such as children, are forbidden to call  
ns, such as their elders, by their first names, while  
all children by first names.

Another additional dimension of discriminatory etiquette  
iating people in such situations is suggested by Goffman.  
*institutions* such as hospitals, military camps, and  
utions, the higher honor attributed to staff persons  
Goffman calls an "echelon" relationship of authority  
ber over *any* inmate.<sup>65</sup> Thus, any officer has the right

---

ing Goffman, "On Face-Work. An Analysis of Ritual Elements in  
*Acting*, 18(1955) 213-231. Also, on the fragility of a sense of self-  
on a sustaining set of reactions by others, see Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death*  
(New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

ing Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," *American Journal of Sociology*  
66), 473-502.

nel, referring to an "ideal sphere" that surrounds each person  
ing in size in various directions and differing according to the person's  
ins relations, this sphere cannot be penetrated, unless the person's  
ual is thereby destroyed. A sphere of this sort is placed around each person  
ge very poignantly designates an insult to one's honor as 'coming into one's  
sphere marks, as it were, the distance whose trespassing by a person is an  
honor." Kurt Wolff (ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free  
p. 321.

ing Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mentally Ill People in the  
os*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961.



ansted man in the same vein any adult may take  
ect the behavior of any child, etc. If this thinking  
es of persons—that is, if upper-echelon (higher-class)  
have the right to receive shows of respect from lower  
persons—the psychological deprivation of belonging  
ser social honor becomes obvious. This is particularly  
s of the arrogance of some upper-echelon people with  
g subordinate people uncomfortable.

Many ethnic group members have experienced such  
ults on their personal dignity. The matter of names with  
ican southerners have long been accustomed to  
person be addressed by *any* black person as Mr., M  
white person can call *any* black person by a first na  
ingly, by the generic terms *boy* or *girl* (no matter wh  
person). Some strain is put on this etiquette when  
lower-class position must deal with blacks of di  
Johnson mentions one compromise in this situa  
n is obviously of too high a class to be called by  
-class white might refer to him as “professor”  
ation) without having to employ the more presti

## Participation in Symbolically Significant Social Activities

One of the scarce privileges that people strive for—ar  
entially distributed among people in different social  
r of participating in highly valued social activities.  
an honor to carry the flag in the school parade,  
ry in foreign wars, to represent one's country in in  
sts. To be excluded from an equal chance to enjo  
be defined as gross discrimination, and members  
s have complained of just such exclusion.

Participation in organized sports can provide a case  
nic stratification. One version of the world of sp  
rea where ethnic discrimination does *not* tend to l  
rs, coaches, and fans of athletic teams want their

atters not the ethnic origins of the players on the team. It is noted that members of some ethnic groups become heavily represented in professional sports precisely because sports careers are open, whereas other "legitimate" careers are closed by virtue of ethnic origin. Thus, Weinberg and Arond show that Irish, Jewish, and Italian players have successively dominated professional boxing, and that the period of dominance of each of these groups coincided with the period in which the masses of these people entered the American urban social environment—the period when the opportunity for entering other occupations was at its height. Other studies of other sports suggest quite different conclusions. For example, Baseball is often referred to as the "national sport," and it is a well-known fact that no black American played in the major leagues until Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier. The exclusiveness of Anglo-conformity may have served to keep baseball "pure" from contamination by "foreign" elements. The study found that there was a significant shift in the years following the passage of restrictive immigration legislation in reaction to the "new immigration" in the world—in the pattern of recruitment of professional players.<sup>68</sup> Professional ball clubs of the nineteenth century were recruited mostly from northern urban areas; but with the turn of the century players were increasingly recruited from the rural South. The explanation is that the urban North came to be seen as harboring "un-American" elements (the "new immigration") while the rural South, relatively free of contamination, came to be seen as the more purely American. The study also found almost no players in the early part of the twentieth century with Jewish or Jewish names, although there is some evidence that many of these ethnic origins Anglicized their names. Baltzell has observed that, even in a uniquely "American" institution, the motivation for success is not always American. A great many movie stars are of non-Anglo origin.

---

erson Weinberg and Henry Arond, "The Occupational Culture of Professional Athletes," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57(1952):460-469.

D. Rose, "The Social Origins of American Baseball Players" (Paper presented at the meeting of Upstate New York Sociological Association, 1969).

by Baltzell *The Protestant Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1966).

professional names that usually conceal their ethnic background, deprive their ethnic peers of the pride of having been publicly identified as "our people." Even when minority group members participate actively in sports, athletes obviously do in the United States in professional sports—allegations and protests are sometimes made over in which they are allowed to participate tend to minimize the implications of the participation. Thus Edwards notes that blacks are often in positions of center, quarterback, and defensive linebacker, dramatic, or authoritative positions on a football team, while in baseball, the outfield, which requires the least skill and is least visible to the spectators, is where blacks are often placed.<sup>70</sup> The position of baseball pitcher, which is the most visible, seems to be an exception to the rule of excluding blacks from positions of action. Edwards observes, however, that the pitcher, by being the defensive players on a baseball team, has considerable influence on winning or losing the game.<sup>71</sup> If winning is very important to sports teams and their fans, they may be willing to make an exception to "honor" the dominant ethnic member in the team, without regard to race, creed, or color.<sup>72</sup> A more subtle form of discrimination against blacks in sports has been noted in a study of playing patterns among college players. Yetman and Eitzen find that black players on college football teams are overrepresented among the starters and less represented among substitutes or those who sit on the bench for most of the game. The interpretation offered is that, to be selected for a team, a black player must be "as good" as a white. Thus, only those blacks of out-

---

Edward S. Edwards, *The Sociology of Sports* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1968), p. 100. D. Rose, "The Attribution of Responsibility for Organizational Failure," *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 53(1969), 323-332 shows that while players of other ethnicities are more likely to have their careers terminated during a team's "failing" season, proportionately more blacks are terminated during the "winning" season, independently of the success or failure of the teams for which they played. A former black professional basketball player, Bill Russell, has noted that (with a touch of black chauvinism) the variability in the willingness of a team represented by blacks. According to Russell, the formula for selecting players is: five if playing at home, three on the road, and five if the team is behind in the game. Edwards, *Sports*, p. 211.

Man R. Yetman and D. Stanley Eitzen, "Black Representation on College Football Teams: An Empirical Test of Discrimination," in *Normalcy, Deviance, and Minority* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 115.

make the team, whereas whites of only mediocre talent have the opportunity to travel with the team—primarily for the “honor” of the team, since they so seldom play. There may be some flaw in this interpretation. It could even be suggested that the predominance of black first-string players may be a kind of discrimination in reverse: that those relatively few black team members have a competitive advantage over whites in their chance to play if, for instance, the college feels a need to demonstrate a nondiscriminatory policy. Seeing black athletes sitting on a bench while whites are playing may be suggestive of racial discrimination, so *some* blacks are played to achieve token integration. If there are only one or two black players on a squad, it may well be that a black player who is only “half as good” as a white bench sitter is played to satisfy integrationist demands.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> The apparent fact of somewhat lesser representation of blacks on collegiate and professional football teams than on basketball teams would perhaps support this interpretation. A football team typically has twenty-two starters (eleven on an offensive unit and eleven on a defensive unit) while a basketball team has only five starters. Thus token racial integration is achieved on a football team with a much smaller proportion of blacks as starters than on a basketball team.

# APTER 6

# ORIGIN AND MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

## ORIGIN OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

Any sociological analysis of the origins of any of the kinds of stratification discussed in the last chapter must begin with an unequivocal rejection of the view that these inequalities are based on any inherent differences between peoples of different racial stocks.<sup>1</sup> Rather, it is in the specific historical situations of ethnic peoples in contact with one another that the causes must be sought.

## Three-Factor Theory

This will serve as a convenient starting point for our analysis to make the effort to formulate a theory of the origin of ethnic stratification. I have postulated that three factors are both necessary and sufficient.

---

For a typical social scientific statement on the matter, see M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Race: A Social Myth*, 4th ed. (New York: World, 1964).

<sup>1</sup> I. L. Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," *Social Problems* 10: 157-172.

in why, when present, relationships of dominance arise between ethnic peoples in contact, and why, when egalitarian relationships tend to prevail. The three factors are *competition*, and *differential power*. "Competition provides the motivation for stratification; ethnocentrism provides competition along ethnic lines; and the power differential determines whether either group will be able to subordinate the other." As a "test" of his theory, Noel examined the emergence of ethnic stratification in colonial America. There is a growing consensus among historians that in 1600, the condition of blacks was not too unlike that of white indentured servants. Over a period of several decades, however, blacks were increasingly subordinated into a condition of complete servitude, while the indentured servants were increasingly able to gain freedom and escape a slavlike condition. This stratification forms the basis of the theory.

**Ethnocentrism.** Although, as we observed above, in-group and out-group concepts are not part of the sociologist's arsenal of concepts, they are often found in everyday life. Many people really believe that their own custom are inferior by nature to persons in their own group. To use Sumner's definition, "one's own group is the center of comparison and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it." The difference between ingroup and outgroup is the difference of the outgroup by the ingroup. In applying this concept to the condition of servitude of blacks and whites, Noel found that the initial element in determining blackness was such color as religion. Europeans were especially prone to see non-Christians, that is, as non-Christian and, therefore, as inferior. A white European indentured servant was at least acknowledged as a Christian, however poor.

The factor of ethnocentrism is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the differential social treatment in the United States of immigrants from different countries of origin. The acts excluding Orientals (Chinese in 1882, Japanese in 1924) reflected a feeling of "yellow" peoples, as well as a large element of prejudice.

---

"A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," p. 157.

petition from such people.<sup>5</sup> The quotas established by the Immigration Act of 1924 based the allowable immigration from a certain country on a certain percentage of the number of people from that country living in the United States, a formula designed to limit the immigration of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who came in large numbers. These latter immigrants were very likely to be Catholic or Jewish, to speak languages other than English. They experienced much greater discrimination of every sort than did immigrants from countries where the language, and other social institutions were more familiar to the "Anglo-Saxon" country like the United States. It could be argued that the factor of ethnocentrism is necessary as a condition for the subordination of ethnic minorities. However, later to the possibility of discrimination "without prejudice" is the possibility of discrimination simply by virtue of the fact that dominant groups are prejudiced by the subordination of minorities and that this prejudice in turn is sufficient to stimulate the effort to subordinate minorities. In any event, the prejudices arising from ethnocentrism are a social phenomenon, an attempt by dominants to justify the subordination of minorities with a clear conscience—in other words, to ensure that the dominants will be able to sleep at night, but not to sleep without bad dreams.

**Competition.** According to Noel, ethnic groups come into existence only when they must strive against one another for the enjoyment of certain goals that are in limited supply, whether such goals be power, wealth, or prestige. Sometimes two ethnic groups in contact are in competition, since the groups are striving for different goals. However, the accomplishment of its goals does not interfere with the accomplishment of its goals. A frequently cited example is the relationship between the Chinese peoples in Manchuria who are able to live in a relatively equalitarian relation with one another because they are all agricultural people, do not compete with but rather cooperate with the Tungus, a nomadic hunting people.

---

<sup>5</sup> M. P. Petersen, *Japanese Americans* (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 1-4. A summary of the history of restrictive immigration legislation in the United States is given by E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1972) pp. 1-4-26.

eer.<sup>7</sup> The low level of anti-Semitic feeling among  
des another example. Since most Italian immigrants  
came from peasant backgrounds and tended to p  
rs in America, whereas Jews, both in Italy and t  
ed mercantile occupations, there has been little con  
vo groups either in Italy or the United States.<sup>8</sup>  
ore frequently, however, ethnic groups in contact a  
competition has led to conflict over which group is  
e noted in the last chapter, relations between black a  
have been strained by the dominance of Jewish m  
os and the feeling of many would-be black entrepre  
rship of retail businesses deprives black people  
curial opportunities.<sup>9</sup> Gans has given a similar inte  
gle in the New York City schools during the late 19  
community control, which became largely a conflic  
ews.<sup>10</sup> Blacks in New York City apparently expect  
lished their numerical dominance in a given ne  
d come to dominate neighborhood institutions as w  
cord with the usual "succession" process in America  
e ethnic group moves out, the newcomers take ov  
ter 5, however, white retail merchants tended *not*  
turned black. Ghetto schools experienced a simi  
y concentration of Jews in the teaching profession  
"k" schools having predominantly Jewish staffs. Ma  
situation deprived black teachers of employment op  
nation they had hoped to reduce by community co  
ices in the neighborhood schools.

---

J. Lindgren, "An Example of Culture Contact Without Conflict  
cks of Northwestern Manchuria," *American Anthropologist*, 4  
lysis of this and other examples of noncompetitive or "symbio  
groups, see Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Ba

h Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 19  
so-called black anti-Semitism is largely confined to negative ste  
cks in the area of *economic* behavior is indicated in Gertrude  
erg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice* (New York: Harper & Row, 19

bert J. Gans, "Negro-Jewish Conflict in New York City. A Socio  
d E. Gelfan and Russell D. Lee (eds.), *Ethnic Conflicts and Pow  
ctive* New York: Wiley 1973 pp 218-230



h-Americans and Italian-Americans have also been  
y over which ethnic group would come to control t  
hurch in the United States. In cities such as Boston,  
s have changed from Irish to Italian dominance, th  
s competition, during the period of transition, for  
"11

ain we may question whether one of Noel's fact  
etition—is *necessary* for the emergence of ethnic  
erghe has argued that there are at least two forms c  
ystems.<sup>12</sup> One is based on *competition*, in which  
me groups to monopolize privilege at the expense  
en as "dangerous." The other is based on *paternalism*  
r to that of parents to children, in which the parent  
of protecting the children and the children in turn  
respect to the parents. While parents and child  
etitive with one another in most situations, neither  
equalitarian. Likewise, minority groups are no less  
y the dominant group treats their inferiority with b  
el's own interpretation fails to make clear the ro  
een blacks and whites in colonial America, or at lea  
s and white slaveowners, whose attitudes and action  
bel. The usual interpretation is that the enslavement  
conomic interest (and Noel adds in the *status* inte  
cracy rather than in response to any demands by  
d be the only possible economic competitors of t  
pretation shares this view, although he must stretc  
*competition* to cover the situation in which there is a "u  
e group's subordinating another. (Thus, a rich mar  
be "noncompetitive" in that they strive for differ  
strives perhaps for possession of a more commodio  
the poor man hopes to be able to furnish his hom  
oor and a picture on the wall—to cite Lyndon Joh  
for the antipoverty program. Still, the presence c

---

eatato, *Italian Americans*, pp 110–113.

e L. van den Berghe, "Paternalistic versus Competitive Race Re  
ach," in Bernard E. Segal (ed.), *Racial and Ethnic Relations* S  
New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972, pp 24–38.

ing or forced to work at minimum wages, may be one of the reasons for the luxurious life style of the rich man, who may require, for example, maintain the grounds of his estate.) The explanation of why indigenous Indians in many places escaped the fate of enslaved blacks is made on similar grounds. Indians tended to adapt poorly as laborers in the mining and plantation operations favored by European colonizers, and were viewed as a "nonutilitarian" labor supply. Blacks proved more useful in these situations, much to their own worst interest. Such "utilitarian" perceptions of an ethnic minority as a factor of "competition," then Noel's competition factor covers a large part of the story in the American colonies. Perhaps this stretches the meaning of the concept of competition, but there may be an additional factor of considerable importance. Some such term as *exploitation* might more directly express the nature of this factor.

**Differential power.** For one group of people to dominate another is obviously necessary that the dominants have not only the ability to establish their superiority (as is emphasized with the economic competition factors), but the power or "muscle" to do so. Which group becomes dominant often depends on which has the better complements of warfare. The conquest of native peoples by the more advanced Europeans is most obviously explained in this way. Noel's analysis moves from truism to insight with the case of indentured servants in America, but not black slaves. The lack of an external source of power—the attitudes of the dominant toward the dominant Americans. Mistreatment of blacks would be self-defeating for employers. If indentured servants brought the word back to their countrymen—"For God's sake, come here"—sources of additional domestic labor would be increased. If the country governments could bring pressure to bear on the masters in America, an especially important factor, perhaps the country striving for recognition among the nations of the

---

of the nonadaptability of Indians to the slave condition may have been the case of blacks but not of Indians to enter into servile relations with Europeans. As 1634, European travelers to South America were being advised to avoid contact with them as there were no Indians in Buenos Aires that could be used. Frank Tannenbaum *Slave and Citizen* New York: Knopf

is some doubt whether Noel's theory provides the "unambiguous framework" for explaining Mexican-American relations. McLemore believes it does. The element of competition between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans seems especially important. Of McLemore's observation that most Mexicans were of lower-class origins while most Americans were of middle-class origins, direct Anglo-Mexican competition must have been limited to a few large Mexican landowners who undoubtedly resisted the "land grab" in Texas. Whether or not Mexicans constituted a "proletarian" interest to Anglos is left undefined.<sup>17</sup> Little attention is given to the external power sources of the Mexican Revolution. McLemore observes that Mexico, after the loss of Texas, "displayed great concern for the welfare of her citizens within the territory of the United States,"<sup>18</sup> but there is no indication that this concern had any telling effect on the treatment of Mexicans in the United States. Indeed, the relative national power of Mexico would lead one to doubt the practical impact of this concern.

## MECHANISMS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

We have been discussing the question of how ethnic groups achieve or lose a high or low place in a system of stratification. Now we turn to the question of how these positions are maintained. We turn now to a related, but nevertheless distinct question: What are the forces that tend to maintain ethnic groups in their positions? In analyzing these mechanisms, a distinction will be made between those that arise from (1) dominant-group attitudes and actions, (2) subordinate-group attitudes and actions, and (3) structural or institutional forces that may not express the wishes of either dominant or subordinate groups.

### Dominant Group Behavior

The degree to which a privileged ethnic group is determined by its own behavior and attitudes is obviously a complex question. The degree to which the subordination of minorities is obviously a function of the behavior of the dominant group. While it is probably true, as Legum says, that

---

heavy use by Anglo farm owners of immigrant Mexicans as a labor source. That, indeed, the subordination of Mexicans has been quite "utilitarian."

ty—white or black or brown—has ever voluntarily  
leges at one fell swoop,"<sup>19</sup> some groups have moved  
tion than have others. This is apparent, for example,  
colonial countries toward the political aspirations of  
le of their colonies. The British have been far more  
the French to the idea that someday, when the natives  
under British tutelage, they would gain full rights to  
the British would then withdraw.<sup>20</sup> Given such variations,  
to look for some lines of explanation of dominant  
maintaining the dominant position.

**Expediency of ethnic stratification.** One source  
s on whether or not dominant groups really "gain" from  
ordination of minorities. Dollard's analysis of black-  
thern town suggests that whites do, indeed, gain from  
n. Specifically, whites gain a supply of labor to do  
work; they gain a whole category of persons whom  
r how lowly in social status, can look down on. They  
gain sexual access to black women while ruthlessly  
procal sexual access of black men to white women.  
ions, there can be little doubt that the natives win  
us ways, especially as a labor supply for the mining  
prises of the colonists.

me of the "equality revolutions" that we shall be  
chapter may reflect a loss of will of dominants to  
nance. More specifically, in terms of the "gains" of  
ncreasingly be that the perceived "cost" of securing  
ome dominant groups to conclude that it "isn't worth  
dominance. Some of this cost may be psychic in nature  
possibility that dominants *do* have "bad dreams" or  
t their subordination practices. Myrdal's formulation  
ma suggested, as has been suggested by many others  
em" in the United States is really a "white problem

---

Legume, "Color and Power in the South African Situation,"  
483-495.

o Mason. *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University

Dollard. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. Garden City

white Americans trying to reconcile continued racial discrimination with the "American creed" as reflected in the "all men are created equal" clause of the Declaration of Independence, or with the principle of the rights of the minority and the ultimate goal of the integration of blacks as full-fledged citizens.<sup>22</sup> The "costs" of ethnic discrimination are more immediate and tangible. Slavery was abolished in many places apparently because slave owners developed consciences, but because slavery was an efficient mode of organizing human labor. Likewise, discrimination against blacks may be defined as costly to the United States because the whole economy suffers from the underutilization of the talents of a large part of the population.<sup>23</sup> The cost of discrimination is measured in the loss of international influence or goodwill, and in the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. The cost of discrimination in the United States. The cost of competition with international communism, wants to keep the United States from losing these peoples. Consequently, many Americans have reached the conclusion that this cost of racial subordination is too high. Finally, a perception of cost may arise from the demands of the persistence of minorities in demanding a reduction in the cost of racial discrimination. Colonial policy, as indicated above, did not envisage the independence of French colonies in Africa and Asia. However, the armed native revolts in Indochina and Algeria led the French government to the conclusion that these wars could not be sustained. The withdrawal from former colonies often took place because the colonies themselves determined that these colonies (e.g., Cyprus, India, etc.) were not ready enough for self-determination. However, the passive resistance movement led by Gandhi wrenched the British from India, thus hastening the decision of Great Britain to withdraw from its empire under the spur of such costs. An additional point should be made about the measurement of the cost of discrimination. The gainers and losers from a system of ethnic stratification are not the same.

---

Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944). As Myrdal does show, however, that there is a sense in which white people "gain" from the presence of a large black population to do the dirty work. The distribution of the gains is, however, lower-class whites gain little, while the upper-class whites gain the decided advantage of having a supply of relatively cheap labor.

ent groups *within* a dominant ethnic group. The  
s have relatively little to gain (and that mostly in  
illard noted) from black subordination and much to  
g to form coalitions along lines of economic self  
of all races against the rich of all races. Employers, o  
much to gain from cheap labor (with, of course,  
of relative inefficiency of untrained labor) By the 1  
e living in France had much to gain (except for  
ch pride") from continued suppression of the Alger  
e was recalled from retirement with a mandate  
h settlers in Algeria, however, correctly anticipat  
ngs would be expropriated by a nativist government  
em in ending the war was as much a matter of "pac  
rs in Algeria as in dealing with leaders of the na  
sis, then, of ethnic subordination based on the con  
minant groups in maintaining the subordination n  
*entiated* interests of the various groups within the  
he relative power of these groups to determine  
nant group policy.

**Logical considerations: Dominant group prejudice**  
e question of whether dominant group members a  
dominance in terms of any perceived inherent inferi  
peoples. We shall consider here the element of "r  
group beliefs in the inferiority of subordinate race  
to the continued subordination of those races.<sup>24</sup> W  
with the complex question of the relationship b  
*prejudice* and the degree of *discrimination* again  
s.

called white racism in the United States will serve  
sis The black slavery that preceded the Civil War and

---

e with our practice throughout this book of treating race as one o  
definition of ethnic peoplehood—religion and national origin t  
d be desirable if there were some term other than *racism* to  
ant ethnic groups in the inherent inferiority of subordinate one  
like "ethnicism," the term *racism* will be used to cover any d  
ce so that, for example, the tendency of some Caucasian Amer  
ans as "dumb Polacks" or "pushy Jews" would be covered by

Jim Crow laws that developed in the aftermath of Reconstruction by whites in the belief that blacks were essentially non-human. The three-fifths compromise at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, whereby a state's representation in Congress was determined by counting a free person as one and a black slave as three-fifths of a person, was, of course, arrived at by political negotiation between states with many and those with few black slaves. The compromise does serve as a symbol for the degree of humanization of blacks. Even this modicum of humanity was seemingly rejected in 1857 in the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, which pronounced the ultimate in black subordination: blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." This embodied in this mode of thought eventually found a more rationalized rejection of people who are racially different: they might be of inferior stock. In a study of evolving American attitudes toward the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe of this century, Higham shows how the "romantic" attitude toward the country—a kind of smug Anglo-Saxon superiority—demanded all aliens to assimilate to an Anglo-Saxon mold—rather than the development of a new "science" of racial biology, to develop the idea that immigrants were of inferior racial stock and a threat to the traditional Anglo-Saxon stock.<sup>26</sup>

Recent studies of white racism in the United States suggest changes in the form if not the substance of racist justification for discrimination. One of these changes—discussed later—is the development of a "latent" form of racism without explicit ideological justification. This change can be found in white responses to such questions as: "Are blacks as intelligent as whites?" Public opinion surveys show that whites overwhelmingly affirm the equality of native abilities of blacks.

---

<sup>26</sup> The background of official attitudes toward blacks that led to the Dred Scott decision is traced in Leon Litwack, "The Federal Government and the Free Negro," *Journal of Negro History*, 43 (October, 1958): 261–278.

<sup>27</sup> Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1880–1920* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955). For a description of white attitudes toward Jews with the influx of Jewish immigration at the beginning of the century and toward coloured people during the more recent heavy immigration from the British Isles to England, see John A. Garrard, "Parallels of Prejudice: Jewish and Commonwealth Immigration," *Race* 9 (July 1967): 47.

marked change from attitudes expressed thirty or forty years ago. At the same time, however, whites tend to blame blacks for their continued subordinate position, believing that blacks lack initiative in themselves. Many American "white ethnics" make comparisons of the passiveness or "bitching" of contemporary blacks and the actions of their own immigrant ancestors, who came to America and made something of themselves. In terms of social determinism, whites do not accept the "deterministic" view of social conditions. The condition of a person or group of persons is "caused" by the environment.<sup>28</sup> The popular view is that a person can overcome his environment that he "wills," and the failure to achieve is ascribed to the individual.

To complete this discussion of dominant group prejudice and social stratification, we should examine the relative importance of authoritative attitudes and actions as they reflect the culture of the people. Sometimes the official (e.g., governmental) policy is one of explicit discrimination against ethnic minorities. The institutionalized racial policy of *apartheid* in South Africa has been a source of authoritative "explanations" by government officials and intellectuals, explanations that embody, more or less, the assertion that the native is inferior and poses a threat to the dominant position if there is any racial intermingling.<sup>29</sup> In other societal contexts, the official policy may be one of non-discrimination, although the rank-and-file dominant group members may implement the policy may harbor many prejudicial feelings. The question is whether official policy can be effective in the absence of public opinion. One viewpoint is that "you can't legislate morality" and force people against their wills to practice nondiscrimination. There is some evidence in support of this viewpoint. The "massive resistance" taken by southern American whites against enforcement of desegregation has had some success, but also a considerable defeat. To cite a less familiar case, Communist Czech

---

Frederic A. Schwartz, *Trends in White Attitudes Toward Negroes* (New York: Social Research Center, 1967).

David Schuman, "Free Will and Determinism in Public Beliefs About Race," in David Schuman and C. Hoy Steele (eds.), *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial Relations* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), pp. 382-390.

See L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middleton, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).



al policy of nondiscrimination against ethnic minorities, who represent a sizable ethnic minority in this country. A great deal of popular prejudice and discrimination against gypsies is actually *supported* in a somewhat indirect manner by official policy. In a Communist state, the expectations of gypsies, while retaining the form of their traditional life style, are to practice this style with a socialist content. Those who are perceived as being especially recalcitrant toward adoption of this style *do* suffer official discrimination. Also, Party officials *do* reflect local prejudices in their actions. Local authorities—so-called People's Committees—are responsible for the allocation of housing space among applicants. In the face of the housing scarcity, they tend to yield to local demands that gypsy members be favored over gypsy applicants. According to reports, officials in the capital exhort local officials to implement official policy, local officials complain that "you people in the capital don't know the gypsies like we do and, of course, don't know the pressures exerted by one's immediate neighbors." The substance of the complaint of local officials in the United States is that the federal government's civil rights legislation that "you people in Washington" bureaucrats at HEW who write guidelines for racial discrimination in the language of the traveling salesman, "know that the more closely political officials must deal with local prejudices as defined by local prejudices, the more difficult it is to implement official policy."<sup>31</sup>

---

Ulc, "Communist National Minority Policy: The Case of the Gypsies," *Soviet Studies*, 20(April, 1969):421-433.

A parallel to this situation is furnished in the action of Protestant ministers in Little Rock, Arkansas, during that city's school integration crisis. Although the denials of support of the Protestant churches had made pronouncements in favor of integration, many ministers (and primarily only those younger ministers not planning to leave the ministry for any active support to the integrationist side of the controversy. The reluctance of many ministers to the attitudes of their white parishioners was a major factor in the "loss"—and therefore future career prospects—of Protestant ministers in Little Rock. The ability to keep a local congregation "happy" as reflected, for example, in the church membership rolls and increased financial support for the church. A minister's failure to maintain a liberal constituency by taking a liberal stance, even though in strict accordance with the teachings of his denomination, stood to lose this local support and was perceived by many as a failure as a minister. Ernest Q. Campbell and John C. Morris, "The Role of Little Rock Ministers," *American*

is view that "you can't legislate morality," especially be countered with much evidence to the contrary of persons—whether officials or ordinary citizens—be calls prejudiced nondiscriminators or "fairweather" in circumstances.<sup>32</sup> The general rule seems to be: if a member asserts a right in a direct confrontation with a dominant group member, and the minority group member is the law, then that right will be granted. The intransigent fox, who handed out ax handles to his white customers to prevent racial integration, is rare indeed. The directness of the confrontation is apparently of importance. To demonstrate this effect, LaPiere traveled with a Chinese couple and was never refused hotel accommodations in this "mixed" situation, however, when he wrote letters and asked whether accommodations would be available in other circumstances, most replies were negative.<sup>33</sup> It is a contradiction to reject someone in a "Dear John" letter than in a direct confrontation.

The importance of statutory backing has also been demonstrated by Kohn and Williams, blacks who were collaborators who entered restaurants to which blacks had never been admitted while white collaborators observed the ensuing confrontations. They reported that the restaurant managers, aware of the antidiscrimination laws against discrimination and of the pressure from their white customers toward racial integration, vacillated. Although managers sometimes ejected blacks when white collaborators expressed disapproval, the management of one restaurant was so lenient that a civil rights "case" was made with the support of the NAACP. It appears, then, that nondiscrimination can be achieved only in the face of opposition, but perhaps only under special conditions of direct confrontation and statutory backing, conditions that, because of ignorance of legal rights, or lack of funds to pursue legal action, are further difficult conditions to realize. The fundamental

---

Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in *Racial Discrimination and National Welfare* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 1-14.  
L. A. LaPiere, "Attitudes vs. Actions," *Social Forces* 13(1934): 155-162.  
L. Kohn and Robin M. Williams, "Situational Patterning in

permanent implementation of a nondiscriminatory policy. Will more or less forced nondiscrimination lead to a similar "massive resistance"? Two lines of analysis are possible.

First, as we noted in Chapter 4, when people are brought into contact with people of different races or ethnicities—regardless of their wills in equal-status contacts with whites—as would be the case if black workers were hired to work alongside whites on an assembly line—this contact reduces social distance by reducing unrealistic stereotypes. Second, and this analysis involves a more subtle psychological process, "cognitive dissonance" associated with forced accommodation and attitude reduction.<sup>35</sup> Most experiments in cognitive dissonance involve subjects in situations in which they must do something that they would like to be doing or feel they should be doing. For example, people who hate spinach are told—and sometimes paid—to eat it, creating a tendency toward dissonance reduction in human behavior. Cognitive dissonance theorists note that a person can bring his or her self-perceptions into balance *either* by ceasing the activity, *or* by ceasing to view the activity as objectionable, *or* by making a virtue of necessity. The "fairweather" who is forced to practice nondiscrimination might, at the end of the day, restore cognitive balance by resuming the discrimination. If the forces arrayed against discrimination are too powerful for a person to resist, when a really tough equal opportunity enforcement official cancels a government contract—he may have to restore balance by changing his prejudicial attitudes. From a "fair weather" liberal, he may become a self-regulating ethnic liberal. Although it is difficult to enforce nondiscrimination if it runs contrary to the prejudices of a people, there is at least sociological warfare possible. While coercion may initially be necessary, discrimination can eventually be greatly reduced for the two groups involved.

**Majority Group Attitudes Toward Subordination**  
Attention now shifts to an examination of the characteristics of the majority members as explanations of their own continued support in any respect subscribing to the new form of

d blame minorities for their own condition,<sup>36</sup> it is s  
in which minorities self-enforce a weakened powe  
l situations.

**Internalization of dominant group prejudices.** A  
in social psychology is that human beings tend to  
d themselves that they find expressed in the at  
d them.<sup>37</sup> If the attitudes of dominant group me  
rity group members are inferior people, then these r  
easily develop some of the attitudes of self-hatred d  
There are many subtle ways in which minority gr  
the message of their inferior social worth. A freque  
nts is the allegedly prejudicial treatment of ethnic  
als, especially in books written for school childre  
re treated as savages with few admirable human qu  
ted in stereotyped submissive social roles, or slave  
er idyllic time for blacks, implying that a slave condi  
atible with the black's "nature."<sup>38</sup> Such prejudic  
character are indirectly harmful because they in  
members who, in turn, convey these negative attitu  
oup members with whom they deal. Such depic  
ful because they deprive minority group children  
d heritage. Only very recently have school book pu  
iously eradicate such harmful stereotypes from th

---

author is, frankly, about as hardnosed a determinist in explainin  
y wish to find. From this viewpoint, behavior is always caused  
ditional factors, and our tendency to blame someone whose "fre  
or is really an admission of failure to understand the complex sit  
a given instance of human behavior. It might be added, for th  
author is also something of a functionalist or pragmatist who v  
es of "correction" of unwanted forms of behavior, it may be ne  
n or group of persons is "responsible" for that kind of behavior.  
sive to social control, to hold some persons responsible for the  
perpetuation of those sins become the sins of the fathers of  
ge Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: Univers

ome examples of such stereotypical treatments of Indians and  
o, Jewish, and Oriental Americans, see Lewis H. Carlson and  
r Place *White America Defines The Minorities 1850-1950*

**accommodative reactions to subordination.** It appears to the outsider to reflect self-hatred may, a tactic for survival in a situation of unequal power. Because minority group members neither "wince nor flinch" when humiliated by dominant group members does not mean that it means, rather, that they have learned not to react. Because to express it would only worsen the suppression. Minority ethnics are not only required to take it, they are required to appear to like it. This appearance of "liking" is often misread as self-hatred by some.

Poussaint, a black psychiatrist, denies that black people's reaction to their humiliation by whites is a matter of black self-hatred. He described an incident of personal humiliation in which a white man ordered him to "come here, boy." His sense of shame was heightened, he said, by the fact that he was in the presence of a black woman. (Black men, Poussaint noted, have always been concerned with establishing their credentials of masculinity in the face of humiliations to their personal dignity they suffer in their social interactions.) Reflecting on the above incident, Poussaint realized that he was in a very dangerous situation in which he might have been killed had he not acquiesced. Thus, he concluded that the "white man" is a survival tactic practiced by blacks in the white world.<sup>40</sup>

Willard's study of blacks in a southern town emphasizes the "accommodation attitudes" of blacks in the presence of whites, blacks adopt a "white folks manner" to avoid the white stereotype of the black as a happy-go-lucky, ignorant, inefficient individual. That such attitudes are

---

F. Poussaint, "A Negro Psychiatrist Explains the Negro Psychology," *Time*, August 29, 1967. Reprinted in Yetman and Steele, *Majority*, 56.

Italian-Americans are another ethnic group whose members have learned acceptance of a lowered social position. Mario Puzo, author of *The Godfather*, asserts that Italian-Americans never push into what they want (adding the comment that one place they know they are not wanted). He atomizes the attitude of many Italian-Americans by comparing them to a Carl Sandburg poem about whom it was said, "He et what was said of him." *Italians and the American Style*. *New York Times Magazine*, August 1, 1968. See also, *Godfather and Godmother: A Southern Town*.

ed but are "put on" as a way of manipulating the  
s advantage is indicated by the fact that blacks exp  
s a great deal of derision of white people and tell st  
low blacks have gotten the better of a white in  
ion. Of course, blacks must refrain from explicit  
minatory system of etiquette, lest severe sanction  
A black woman explains how she deals with white  
You know there is a way of being so polite to white  
almost impolite. I say polite things, but I look at them  
smile, and while what I am saying is polite, the w  
it isn't.<sup>42</sup>

tably absent in Dollard's Southerntown, then, was  
of protest or defiance of the discriminatory racial sy  
st the system that could not be resolved in subterra  
nger against whites tended to be channeled into a  
st "safe" targets, that is, against other blacks. This  
e high level of verbal and physical violence expres  
ng with one another.<sup>43</sup> This pattern of deflected ver  
observed in a game called "playing the dozens,"  
to outdo one's opponent in trading insults.<sup>44</sup> Rai  
residents in St. Louis contains a graphic transcrip  
n in which there are endless variations on the in  
d your mother. . . ."<sup>45</sup>

e interracial atmosphere in the urban North has, of  
years quite different from that in Dollard's Southe  
43, Johnson was reporting the results of interviews i  
s were telling whites in no uncertain terms that the  
g to "take it" in terms of traditional humiliations.

---

les S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (New York: Har  
r stratification situation, an army enlisted man informs a buddy  
geants) that "if you call an officer 'sir,' you can tell him anyt  
commented in the last chapter on an additional possible reas  
blacks, the reluctance of police and courts to treat these as '  
r P. Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," *Journal of American Fol*  
20.

Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972), pp  
son *Pa te ns of Neg o Segrega ion*

has developed a "cool," hedonistic life style and in the North and South, that might be seen as an alternative to the traditional subordination. Living life for its kicks,<sup>47</sup> being unable to structure one's life according to any long-range plan of achievement, reflects accommodative tendencies among blacks aimed at coping with their low position in the system of ethnic stratification.

**Additional ethnic values.** Whether members of minority groups remain in socially subordinated positions or improve their status over a period of time depends partly on the emphasis placed on "success" in their traditional ethnic life styles. Japanese and American Jews have been notably successful in attaining high positions, at least economically. In the case of Japanese, it has been noted that there were basic values of traditional Japanese culture—thrift, orderliness, etc.—that facilitated Japanese success in American society dominated by the Protestant ethic. In a comparative study of Jews and Italian-Americans, Gresham Sykes lists several reasons for the greater success of the Jews in attaining high status in the United States. For one thing, Jewish immigrants placed great emphasis on schooling and intellectual achievement. Further, Jews tended to exhibit a future-oriented concern for the welfare of themselves and their children (as opposed to the present orientation among Italians).<sup>51</sup> It might be added, in light of the prevalence of "pain behavior" among patients in a Veterans Affairs hospital, that this future-oriented tendency of Jews takes the form of worrying about the future (rather than the optimistic

---

Gold Finestone, "Cats, Kicks and Color," *Social Problems*, 5(1966):1-10.  
Horton, "Time and Cool People," *Trans-action*, 4(April, 1966):1-10.  
In a similar way, Sykes has noted that prisoners tend to disapprove of the defiant protestor, the "ball buster," in favor of the prisoner who maintains a low profile, servers that he can "take it" without being "taken in" by the guards or captors. The honor accorded this "cool" type prisoner is indicated by the characterization of such prisoners as "real men." Gresham Sykes, *The Society of Sentenced Men* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971).

Sam Caudill and George De Vos, "Achievement, Culture and Personality among Japanese Americans," *American Anthropologist*, 58(1956):1102-1112.  
L. Strodbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," in *Social Patterns of an American Group* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1964).

of the "old Americans"). This tendency to worry more about the future than the present, where success is based on a willingness to take risks, is a characteristic of the poor in a favorable future outcome.<sup>52</sup> American Indians and Spanish-speaking Americans are groups that have been described as having a present-oriented orientation that supposedly retards social advancement.<sup>53</sup> Oscar Lewis, in his study of the social attitudes of the poor, has suggested that we have a "culture of poverty" interpretation to such values. Lewis postulated a "culture of poverty" in the United States (and other parts of the world) marked by, among other things, a fatalistic acceptance of the status quo, with no expectation of improvement in the future. Lewis believed this culture embraces the poor of all ethnic groups. A study of poor families in California attempted to test the culture of poverty hypothesis by comparing equally poor blacks, Anglos, and Spanish-speaking Americans. The authors found that the "poverty" attitudes described by Lewis were more typical of the Spanish-speaking than of the other groups. If Lewis not based his generalization on studies of American and Puerto Rican groups only, the authors could have asserted the noninfluence of an ethnic factor.

**Persistence of dependency relations.** It sometimes happens that minority group members are reluctant to take advantage of opportunities for more equalitarian relations if they have developed a "habit" of dependency, "56 which they find difficult to break. This "habit" of dependency is a result of previous experiences of the minority group with a dominant group. Although many American Indians complained b

---

52 Zborowski, *People in Pain* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).  
53 R. K. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, *Variations in Value Orientation* (New York: Free Press, 1961).

54 Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American*, 215 (October 1967).  
55 M. Ireland, Oliver C. Moles, and Robert M. O'Shea, "Ethnicity, Poverty, and the Culture of Poverty Hypothesis," *Social Forces*, 54 (1975), 13.  
56 Likewise it was shown that, when the variable of metropolitan area residence was controlled for, the poor and the nonpoor among Spanish-speaking Americans showed about the same degree of "culture of poverty" values, suggesting that the influence of an ethnic factor is less significant than that of a class influence for this group. Nancy G. Kutner, "The Poverty Culture and Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan Comparison," *Social Forces*, 54 (1975), 250-268.



ent's paternalistic treatment of them in the past, the more bitter about the recent "termination" of government of their interests. The frequent stories of freed slaves to leave the service of their masters after emancipation, often tediously embellished by southern sentimentality, but the basis in historical fact. Native people who have lived in societies in which the masses of people were subject to dominant traditional rulers, somewhat like the feudal societies, are not particularly disoriented by contact with colonialism. The quest simply meant exchanging one set of masters for another. It is noted, for example, that natives of Madagascar attempted to exchange relations of total dependence with Europeans, a relationship which Europeans were inclined to reject.<sup>57</sup> European employment contracts with native employees to be narrowly circumscribed employer-employee relation, while the native tend to have a diffuse commitment by both sides. Thus Europeans are seen as giving or demanding, while the natives see the Europeans as responsive to their efforts to involve themselves in the lives of the Europeans, and the Europeans in their own lives.

## **Institutional Discrimination**

The social forces that deprive ethnic groups of the opportunity to hold their power position may emanate not from the actions of the dominant or minority groups but from discriminations by institutions.<sup>58</sup> The basic formula for explaining this structural discrimination is that social arrangements that reflect a preeminent position of certain groups of people tend to persist even when the will to maintain that position has vanished. To illustrate, let us consider the continued discrimination against Negro Americans in the area of employment. Even though equal employment policies have become the standard in many organizations, Negroes continue to be underemployed in the better jobs. Since such

---

<sup>57</sup> Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban* (London: Methuen, 1956).

<sup>58</sup> A study that similarly defines institutional discrimination as outstanding for a dominant or minority group but that presents an analysis of the discrimination that differs from the analysis to follow see Robert Frisvold, "How to Discriminate Without Really Trying," in *Journal of Political Economy*, 117, 1989, pp. 117-137.

→ of the basic experience of black Americans and other groups in the United States and elsewhere "we should not look for 'institutional' reasons for this situation. The problem is that most highly paid employment requires education or training, and these educational opportunities are not available to blacks. This unavailability reflects, at least in part, discriminatory college admissions policies *per se* but the fact that blacks have inferior educational preparation for college or other postsecondary education and therefore are not able to compete with whites for such jobs. Thus, even though many trade unions, for example, have abandoned the discriminatory practice of excluding blacks from apprenticeship training in skilled labor, relatively few blacks are able or willing to take advantage of such opportunities. Another institutionalized source of discrimination, at least in the case of economic opportunity (e.g., the management of large corporations or the world of the junior executive), is the "particularistic" nature of blacks—and women—must face in their places of employment. In such places it is often necessary to be "one of the boys" in the bureaucratic hierarchy and if, for any reason—sexual orientation, for example—a category of people does not fit into the "clubhouse" of the workplace, then the career prospects of such people are severely limited. This may explain why blacks and women prefer employment with public agencies to employment in private industry.

---

Person and Fugitt are thus able to show that the concentration of employment would persist in the United States for some sixty to eighty years if past disadvantage of blacks in terms of education and occupational attainment persisted. Fugitt, "Negro-White Occupational Differences in the American Labor Market," *American Journal of Sociology*, 73(September, 1967):188-200; S. Coleman, *Resources for Social Change. Race in the United States* (1971), pp. 82, 83.

Thia F. Epstein, "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex-Status Differences in the Professions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(May 1970):100-115. Epstein suggests that the informal organization of business leaders in the United States is due in part to the tremendous volume of transactions between business leaders on an informal verbal basis. This way of conducting business requires a high degree of trust among business leaders. "Such a high degree of trust can arise only among people who share similar values, who speak the same language in the same terms, who share the same norms, and are involved in a network of primary relationships. Business leaders share the same values and the same patterns of symbolic behavior." Coleman, *Resources for Social Change*, pp. 82, 83.

in public service the white male establishment for career advancement.<sup>62</sup> Finally, it may be argued that continued racial segregation, or institutional, variety, operates to exclude blacks from opportunities. For example, people typically locate work of personal acquaintances.<sup>63</sup> The fact that bused housing patterns, have little opportunity to be whites<sup>64</sup> deprives blacks of sources of information most of whom will necessarily be white—with jobs to show that those blacks who are most successful in obtaining integrated schools and can therefore include acquaintance networks.<sup>65</sup> Of course formal desegregation of blacks and whites will become acquainted, since it is blacks and whites to separate themselves into majorities of acquaintances even *within* an integrated school. An attempt to combat structural or institutional discrimination in recent efforts in the United States to equalize opportunity through busing, the establishment of schools to include a certain proportion of minorities or a certain proportion of minority group members are major efforts to combat institutional discrimination. As we shall see in the future, such efforts are especially likely to meet opposition from whites, who may brand such programs as instances of "reverse."

---

It has been shown, however, that even in government employment there is extensive discrimination against racial minorities. U.S. Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, "Report on the Government Job," Reprinted in Pettigrew, *Race and Ethnicity in the United States*, pp. 159–167.

S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* (1973):1360–1380.

James Korte and Stanley Milgram, "Acquaintance Networks Between Schools," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 15(1970).101–108.

Robert L. Crain, "Schools and Occupational Achievement," *American Sociological Review* 75(January 1970) 593–606.

# CHAPTER 7

## ETHNIC DYNAMICS

### INTRODUCTION

As we have noted in this book, sociological interest in ethnicity to focus especially on the fact of *variation* in the influence of this factor under different conditions of human existence. This interest has been reflected, in most of the analysis so far, in comparisons of ethnic relations in different countries or regions: for example, racial segregation in northern and southern parts of the United States. Another dimension of this variation is discussed in this chapter: variation over a period of time in the nature of ethnic relations in a given community, region, or country. The relationships between whites and blacks in some communities of the American South have changed drastically in the last thirty years, and this change is measured in lessened segregation of the races in some spheres of social interaction or in new opportunities for blacks to enjoy economic, political, and social privileges that had previously been denied them. In this chapter we examine some lines of explanation of these and similar changes in ethnic relations.

Three general kinds of forces for change will be examined here. First, changes in ethnic relations may be one of the several consequences

al social changes that are occurring in a given country or region. The introduction, for example, of a new, large town is likely to affect many aspects of the social life of its residents, including the possibility of a change in industry, there are many workers of an alien ethnicity who work in that industry. We refer to such changes as *induced* changes, not because they just spring up without any human causation, but because they are by-products that were not intended by those responsible for the changes.

Second, the status of ethnic relations in an area may be perceived as a social problem by people in positions of authority, or by the majority to attempt to institute changes. They may, for example, be adding the continuation of given kinds of ethnic discrimination. They may undertake massive programs of assistance to underprivileged groups to try to help them improve their collective social status. We refer to such efforts as *planned* change, since they reflect a conscious design a newer and better model of ethnic relations. Third, individuals or groups outside positions of authority may perceive the current state of ethnic relations as lacking in appropriate concern or capacity to solve the problematic state of ethnic relations. These concerned outsiders may exert pressure on decision makers to pass antidiscrimination laws, to start assistance programs, etc. We shall refer to such efforts as *pressure* changes, and we shall examine several of the pressure tactics that have been used to push for changes in various aspects of ethnic relations.

## SPONTANEOUS CHANGES

In the history of a given country, region, or community, it is likely to occur that will have a profound influence on all other aspects of social relationship in that area. In the discovery of new natural resources, and demographic changes, altered fertility, mortality, or migration rates may have significant effects. To illustrate the effects on ethnic relations of some of these changes, in this chapter focus on a single area of broad social change called *modernization*, a very general term for the processes that have been occurring in many parts of the world. Specific elements of modernization include the processes of urbanization (movement of people from country to city); *industrialization* (production of goods and services by the modern factory system); *development*, the adoption of more efficient tools and

ers to produce more goods and services) Urbanization and technological development are widely defined. Among the problematic effects of such modernization are the consequences for ethnic relations where such change is rapid.

## Urbanization

According to a prevailing school of sociological thought, the process of modernization has resulted in the development of a modern, urban culture which has eroded the provincialism of regional or tribal loyalty in rural areas.<sup>1</sup> On the assumption that traditional ethnic identities are being dissolved, anthropologists have been urged to move quickly to study the remaining primitive peoples, since rural or traditional societies are disappearing of the past.

This view of the "de-ethnicized" urban person has come under serious attack as studies of modernizing peoples have accumulated. As Cohen has said, for example, about African migrants to cities, "they are not 'de-tribalized,' they tend to be 'supertribalized' by their new urban experience."<sup>2</sup> Cohen thus shows how the ethnic identity of the Yoruba tribesmen, nourished by a British colonial policy of segregation, was being overwhelmed by the more numerous Yoruba migrants. Indeed, ethnic identity intensified in the period following the independence of Nigeria.<sup>3</sup>

There have been at least two major lines of explanation for the persistence of ethnic identity in urbanizing countries. Little's work in West Africa illustrates one kind of explanation: the formation of voluntary ethnic unions or tribal associations among migrants. Prominent among those voluntary associations that make urban life possible. Migrant tribesmen find among their tribal

---

<sup>1</sup> Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), S. N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization, Protest and Revolution* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Hanna and Judith L. Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausaland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> E. L. Little, *West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1965). For further analysis see J. H. J. Mayr, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in African Cities* 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

work of people ready to help them with problems of living—getting a job, finding housing, etc.<sup>5</sup> Such migrants with a sense of continuity between their old and new social existence. Most important, perhaps, tribal leaders act as agents of resocialization from traditional to modern.

On the one hand, they emphasize tribal duties and on the other, they urge the adoption of a modern outlook and new social practices. . . . They build for the migrant and in so doing they convey him from one kind of social existence to another.<sup>6</sup>

One line of analysis clearly implies that persisting ethnic divisions are a stage in development of the modern person, providing a bridge, once crossed, will allow people to leave behind their tribal affiliations.

Another line of analysis seems to come to grips more fully with the "retribalization" feature of urbanizing societies. The tribal divisiveness is emphasized as a means for organizing the various groups to contend for the scarce privileges available in the city.<sup>7</sup> These privileges may be (to use Weber's terminology) economic or political or "social" in nature.

Following this perspective, the recent intensification of tribalism and rivalry in African countries (the bitter Yoruba-Igbos in Nigeria being an extreme example) may be attributed to the urbanization of these countries, which brought together people of different origins in the same urban economy, but to the same end: independence movements as well. As European domination lessened, wealth, political power, and social prestige lessened, new prizes to contend for. These remained scarce prizes.

---

de Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1969).

*West African Urbanization*, p. 87.

Ernest Gellner (ed.), *Urban Ethnicity* (London: Tavistock, 1974), p. 10; Ernest Gellner, "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa," *American Anthropologist*, 6(June, 1974):457-484; George Bennett, "Tribalism in Postcolonial Africa," *Tradition and Transition in East Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 59-88; Claude S. Fischer, "Toward a Subcultural Theory of Urbanization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(1972):131-152.

competition for dominance in these various areas. Ethnic contention is based on "a widespread fear of members of another ethnic group will lead to the destruction of their own group."<sup>8</sup> The "new men of power" in postcolonial states are accordingly motivated to play on these fears of being outmaneuvered to create an ethnic constituency for themselves to counter their peers.<sup>9</sup>

These two versions of persisting or heightened ethnic conflict in urban areas do not have to be seen as mutually exclusive. This is illustrated in Schildkrout's study of Mossi migrants from Upper Volta to Kumasi in Ghana.<sup>10</sup> For first-generation migrants, the association performs most of the functions of adaptation to the urban situation. The ethnic group tends, for example, to provide a substitute for the place real family members from back home. In the second generation, when men are in the city, and this function of the ethnic association becomes less efficacious. Mossi association persists, however, in more symbolic ways. Because the Mossi, like all ethnic groups in Ghana, "need to accumulate economic and political power, and for many individuals this means all) identification with the ethnic group is a necessary condition for increasing the likelihood of success."<sup>11</sup>

## Industrialization

Consideration of the industrializing aspect of modernization brings into the case of urbanization, an older and a more recent type of effects on ethnic relations. Industrialization, according to an earlier view, discourages social organization on the basis of ethnicity.<sup>12</sup> Modern industry requires a highly rationalized system of production—employing whatever techniques will maximize production—where discrimination—for example, the discriminatory wage policy

<sup>8</sup> A. A. Schatzkin and Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa*, p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Richard L. Sklar, "Political Science and National Integration—A Critique," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 5(1967):1–11; and P. C. Lloyd, *African Urbanization* (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 302.

<sup>10</sup> Schildkrout, "Ethnicity and Generational Differences Among Migrants," in Cohen, *Urban Ethnicity*, pp. 187–222.

<sup>11</sup> Schildkrout, "Ethnicity and Generational Differences," p. 215.

<sup>12</sup> For a critical assessment of such viewpoints see Harold Wolpe "Industrialization and Social Change," in Samir Amin (ed.) *Race and Racism* (London: Tavistock, 1968), pp. 11–22.



ans more than native workers for the same work (p. 5) is seen as inconsistent with industrialization, not only because of native talent and also because, by depriving them of income, it deprives manufacturers of a domestic market for their products. On this basis it had been predicted that the process of industrialization in South Africa would undermine the share of employment in that country.<sup>13</sup> Another "de-ethnicization" of industrialization has been suggested. As industry develops, the Marxian sense of the distinction between owners and workers will develop among all ethnic groups, and these class divisions will tend to reduce ethnic solidarity and the possibility of exploitation of one ethnic group by another.<sup>14</sup> Recent studies of modernization, especially in Africa, have shown that development of industry does not always have the effect of reducing the importance of ethnic affiliation. Wolpe shows that industrialization in South Africa has not resulted in the implementation of discriminatory wage policies on the indicated grounds of "nationality."<sup>15</sup> Given the extreme opposition of white workers to equalization of pay between themselves and black workers, he concludes that it is entirely rational to continue the discriminatory wage policy, so could lead to strikes by white workers. The cost of discriminatory racial employment may also be a fallacy. As he points out, the racially repressive society of South Africa has managed to train and employ native workers in highly skilled occupational positions, even while grossly underpaying them. The adaptability of a racist society to industrial conditions is illustrated in the case of South Africa.

The idea that class will replace ethnicity as a basis of social organization in an industrialized society has also been challenged, again by empirical examples. Industrialization will have this effect because occupational division of labor leads to association of people

---

a van der Horst, "The Effects of Industrialization on Race Relations in South Africa," in J. H. Hunter (ed.), *Industrialization and Race Relations* (London. Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 101.

a critical review of several formulations of this sort, see Leo Kuper, "Industrialization and Race Relations," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9 (1967), 107.

c groups in the same occupation. Actually, the experience was different, and elsewhere is that there tends to be a sharp division of occupational roles between the various native tribal groups. In Africa, working class solidarity between black and white workers was effectively eliminated in the 1920s, when protests by native workers against discriminatory employment practices resulted in an alliance between the workers and owners of industry. The owners bought the loyalty of the white supremacy system by yielding to the demands of the native workers for the continuation of favorable treatment for themselves and their families.<sup>17</sup>

## PLANNED CHANGES

We turn now to those changes in ethnic relations that are the intended result—of efforts of persons in positions of authority to bring about change. We noted earlier two different ways in which human relationships could be analyzed: social distance and social power. It would be possible, therefore, to focus on the ways in which social distance between ethnic groups either by increasing or decreasing through planned integration or increasing social distance through the apartheid system of racial separation in South Africa. Also, there are or have been efforts made to apply the concept of social power to the problem of ethnic people by reducing the privileges enjoyed by one ethnic group and increasing the privileges enjoyed by another. We shall not, for lack of space, deal here with the various kinds of change. Rather, we shall focus on an area of change that is most prominent today: the effort made in many countries, regions, and communities to reduce the inequality between ethnic peoples, to move toward the elimination of various systems of ethnic stratification. It seems clear that the efforts to eliminate ethnic inequality are the wave of the present if not of the future. People of various sorts are hard at work attempting to implement in social practice the rather idealistic assertion that "all men are created equal." Some kinds of effort in that direction have been made, but persistent difficulties in the way of the "best laid plans" have been encountered.

---

17. J. H. Coatsworth and Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa*, pp. 131-132; and Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 100.

## Equality by Statute

Legal equality may be established as a matter of national jurisdiction through the enactment of laws or through the determination of what is unlawful or through the articulation of policies by administrative agencies of government. We shall be examining the experience of anti-discrimination policy in the United States and Britain to illustrate some of the persisting problems in this area.

In the United States, as elsewhere, official action to eliminate discrimination against minorities has involved a series of piecemeal actions in different directions and under different jurisdictions. The executive branch of federal government has often moved considerably ahead of Congress in its willingness to pursue official attacks on discrimination. The modern era of civil rights action began with an executive order issued by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 (apparently in response to a public demonstration by blacks) in which he articulated a policy for the United States that there shall be no discrimination in employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, color, or national origin.<sup>18</sup> Executive departments and agencies were instructed to write nondiscrimination clauses into their contracts, and a Fair Employment Practices Committee was established, which had at first only a vague mandate to investigate complaints and advise the president. In 1943, however, the committee's powers were more closely defined to enable it to bring pressure to bear on companies to negotiate agreements with offending companies to end discrimination in employment. These actions—pressure through the threat of government to withhold federal aid from discriminatory companies, the use of conciliation, the negotiated settlement of disputes, and ordering discriminators to agree to change their practices—have been continued. These actions have not been effective in achieving their aim, but they have been introduced by the executive branch in the United States. President Truman tried unsuccessfully for two years to establish FEPC by statute; finally, he established

---

George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: Problems and Discrimination* 4th ed (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 1.

the program himself by executive order in 1948.<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps, that the executive branch may be more responsive to the need for protection of minority rights. Unlike individual constituencies and tend to reflect priorities.<sup>20</sup> Presidents represent more directly the "national interest" than that interest is defined, for example, as maximizing economic growth (a major concern in 1941) or as enabling the United States to take a more assertive posture in international relations (a consideration that Congress finally did, in 1957, enact legislation that created the Commission on Civil Rights with the responsibility to investigate discrimination, and provided the Justice Department, through its Civil Rights Division, with the power to prosecute on behalf of the government any denial of voting rights.<sup>21</sup> While the Civil Rights Commission performed valuable service by its thorough and critical examination of racial discrimination in American life, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department was hampered for a number of years by its lack of authority to force local voting registrars in the South to remove names from the voter rolls. In effect, the Justice Department had to tolerate the "systemic practice" of racial discrimination without any way to prevent or remove such a pattern.

The momentous Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 corrected many of the deficiencies in effective enforcement of nondiscrimination laws, as well as some other deficiencies. Title VII of the 1964 Act prohibited employment discrimination and established an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce rights in this area. The EEOC receives complaints from anyone who feels that because of race, color, religion, sex, or age he or she is being discriminated against in employment, in labor unions, or in treatment by employment agencies (although certain types of employers, unions, and employment agencies are not covered by the act). If the commission finds evidence of discrimination, it so informs the offending agency and tries to get it to stop the discrimination.

---

son and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, p. 426.

representatives in Congress were extremely resistant to the idea of federal intervention. son and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, p. 425.

erick M. Wirt, *Politics of Southern Equality* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), p. 100. son and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, p. 429.

conciliation" that is satisfactory to both parties.<sup>23</sup> Fair employment commissions can turn the case over to the Justice Department for possible legal prosecution. Very similar procedures are used by commissions on fair employment practice that have been established in most states and many cities.

An evaluation of the operation of these commissions at the national levels, Witherspoon observes that "perhaps the most important factor contributing to the typical ability of a human-resources manager to dispose through the techniques of conciliation is the fact that the commission brought to its attention is its possession of ultimate authority to force compliance with the law if conciliation fails." The EEOC has this power in the roundabout way of taking the case to the Justice Department, in practice it has not often operated this way, perhaps, because of the complications arising when two powerful agencies get involved in the enforcement act.

Blumrosen, chosen of a "brief shining moment" in the history of the EEOC, pointed out in a negative way.<sup>25</sup> The case described was that of a company in Newport News, Virginia, that was found to have a discriminatory policy by virtue of racially discriminatory hiring practices. At the time he was at the time an official of the EEOC, and he had a clear understanding between his agency and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department that failure to cooperate with conciliation efforts (which had been the company's first inclination) would only lead to prosecution. This understanding was reached through bureaucratic cooperation, and a substantial reduction in racial discrimination by the company was achieved. However, the case drew public criticism of the settlement and this, in addition to the "business as usual" rivalry between governmental agencies.

---

The difficulty of reaching such conciliations is suggested by a plaque at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, first head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Blessed are the peacemakers—for they shall catch hell from both sides. (Blumrosen, *Southern Equality*, p. ix.)

John P. Witherspoon, *Administrative Implementation of Civil Rights* (New York: Praeger Press, 1968), p. 115

and W. Blumrosen, "The Newport News Agreement—One Brief Settlement of Equal Employment Opportunity." in John H. McCord (ed.), *Proceedings of the American Academy of Civil Rights Theory and Practice* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), p. 115

that this brief shining moment would be the only  
26

complicating factor in the enforcement of civil rights laws. The rapid expansion of coverage of these laws, especially "Equal opportunity" laws and regulations have increased demands to eliminate discrimination against women. In a survey of state and city laws, there have been extensions of coverage. There are laws forbidding discrimination against recipients of public assistance, people of deviant "sexual orientation," the physically handicapped. In Pennsylvania, the law prohibiting discrimination against a hospital employee who participates in performing an abortion."<sup>27</sup> These extensions have resulted, Martin suggests, in a new form of "racialized" work loads and, often as not, with diminished mandated services, enforcement agencies are unable to perform as well their original job of enforcing laws against discrimination.

The 1965 Civil Rights Act, and its subsequent enforcement, has the possibility of more positive results in planned intervention. As noted above, the Justice Department had been frustrated in the Southern states to insure black voting rights by its use of intervention as a justification for the intervention. This was possible to determine simply by "administrative oversight" was necessary.<sup>28</sup> According to the act, a prima facie case of discrimination in voting registration exists in any county where the nonwhites of voting age are actually registered in less than 50 percent, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department

---

An essentially negative evaluation of the impact of EEOC action on discrimination in employment, see Arvil V. Adams, *"Toward Fair Employment: A Study of Compliance Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964"* (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1972). For evaluation of fair employment commissions on the state and local level, see *Public Civil Rights Agencies and Fair Employment* (New York: Horroe Berger, *Equality by Statute*, rev. ed. (Garden City, N.Y. 1971).

John Martin, "New Civil Rights Coverages—Progress or Racism?" *Reviews*, 4 (April, 1975) 14–37. Quotation on p. 19.

*Politics of Southern Equality* p. 70

in federal registrars to insure the opening of the votes. Under its cool but determined directors, Burke L. (later to gain national recognition as majority counsel) and his staff, the Federal Civil Rights Division was able to produce such "drains" in the percentage of eligible blacks actually registered: from 60 to 61 percent in 1969 in Alabama, and from 57 to 58 percent in 1969 in Mississippi.<sup>29</sup>

Title VI of the 1964 act has generated another high-profile approach to enforced nondiscrimination. The act makes it unlawful for any entity receiving federal assistance to practice ethnic or racial discrimination. President Johnson, by executive order in 1965 (which was later amended in 1967 to cover the employment of women) gave impetus to the enforcement of this title by requiring all federal departments and agencies to "insure" that discrimination is not practiced in the operation of hospitals, schools, housing authorities—receiving federal assistance.<sup>30</sup> The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued its mandate as requiring that financially assisted universities, must either: (1) demonstrate that minorities are employed in numbers proportional to their number in the general population, or (2) show why they have not been able to achieve such parity, and face the possible loss of federal assistance.

This so-called quota approach to the enforcement of nondiscrimination has been severely criticized, even by some "liberal" individuals who have actively promoted civil rights.<sup>31</sup> The Senate Civil Rights Committee has, for example, vigorously opposed such measures, because Jewish participation in certain intellectual fields would give Jews an advantage in a situation of open competition on the basis of ethnic origins. The pages of *Commentary*, published by the American Jewish Archives, have been filled with articles highly critical of "affirmative

<sup>29</sup> *Politics of Southern Equality*, p. 89.

<sup>30</sup> For the text of the 1965 order, see *Race Relations Law Reports*, 1965, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> Nathan Glazer, "Ambivalence Toward Integration: The Sequence of Racial Quotas," *Sociological Quarterly*, 16 (Winter 1975), 16-32.

the application of quotas for the participation of minorities. In this article, Abrams asserts that EEOC actually violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which specifically forbids the use of racial quotas.<sup>33</sup> According to Seabury, American universities have been used by "affirmative action" programs into relaxing standards for minority group members of lesser qualification. This is the oft-cited statement by Justice Harlan (in a dissenting Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which established a constitutional basis for racially "separate but equal" schools) that "our Constitution is color-blind." Universities, which are color-blind concept, have been reluctant even to consider race ethnically, as they would have to do to prove the need for affirmative action.<sup>34</sup>

The development of antidiscrimination legislation in Great Britain has similarities to and differences from the American experience. After World War II, Britain had a considerable influx of Commonwealth immigrants, especially from former British colonies in India, Pakistan, and the West Indies. Native Britons tend to lump these people together as "coloured." Although such immigrants have constituted less than 2 or 3 percent of the English population, their concentration in industrial centers has made them highly visible and a source of competition with working-class people in these areas. The British government has maintained an ambivalent position with reference to these immigrants. On the one hand, as the political climate has shifted with the trade union movement, the Labour Party has associated itself with the feelings of white working-class people. On the other hand, the generally liberal and internationalist

---

John Steinberg, "How Jewish Quotas Began," *Commentary*, 57 (February, 1973):37-47; Elliott Abrams, "The Quota Commission," *Commentary*, 54 (October, 1972):54-58; Paul Seabury, "HEW and the Universities," *Commentary*, 54 (January, 1972):38-44.

Abrams, "The Quota Commission."

Seabury, "HEW and the Universities."

The following discussion is based on E. J. B. Rose, *Colour and Citizenship: Race Relations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); Simon Willmet, *The Problem of Racial Discrimination in Britain* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); and P. J. Patterson, *Immigration and Race Relations in Britain 1960-1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).



a position of the Labour Party has demanded a demand for minorities in the country.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, the Labour movement for immigration restriction that began in the 1950s expressed its "other face" by sponsoring an antidiscrimination Act in 1965 and in 1968.

The nature of this legislation and its implementation in relation to the generalization, suggested above, that it developed as a "correction" of past mistakes in the attitude of social life. One critic of this legislation, Kushnick, noted that British legislators had at their disposal much information and experience of civil rights legislation in the United States, and thus sought to repeat some of the American mistakes.<sup>37</sup> This is a criticism to the assertion that "there is no immutable law that any country to make the same mistakes as others."<sup>38</sup> The basic "mistakes" of the 1965 act were. (1) it limited the scope of alleged discrimination in "places of public entertainment, etc.—leaving uncovered the more vexatious problems in housing and employment, and (2) it provided a weak enforcement mechanism, similar to but even weaker than that in the United States. The Race Relations Board (a forerunner of the EEOC) created by the act had the power to seek evidence of alleged discrimination (but only through the establishment of local committees), with the additional power to refer cases to the attorney general for possible prosecution. These local committees were not even provided with the power to compel attendance at their hearings. This reliance on these restricted methods led the Race Relations Board to become a major critic of the act under which it operated. The board received more than 100,000 complaints that it could *not* process and cite

---

comment above about the influence of local constituencies in the decision-making of Members of Parliament is probably somewhat overstated. A Member of Parliament, who finds that his loyalty to the official party is more important to his political career than the attitudes of the constituency, can always find a safe way to support the party for a loyal party.

tions in its annual reports.<sup>39</sup> This activity, abetted by a survey of the continued discrimination against Coloured persons,<sup>40</sup> led to a successful movement in 1968 to extend the Race Relations Board to deal with housing and employment. The enforcement weaknesses of the 1965 act were exposed, however.<sup>41</sup> The classic practice in British politics of "letting the cat out of the bag" had produced a rather weak start in the direction of racial equality.<sup>42</sup>

## Development Strategies

Planners of greater ethnic equality in the United States have been hampered by the limitations of "equal opportunity" as a strategy for achieving a lessening of ethnic stratification. The urban streetwise black American realized the fact that the masses of black Americans were protected by antidiscrimination legislation, and probably even if the legislation had been effectively enforced, they would still be forced to suffer not so much from lack of the right to corporate and social privileges, but from a lack of resources—financial—with which to compete *successfully*. As a product of a "separate and unequal" educational system, for example, a black child could not hope to hold his own in school or work against a white child. It became increasingly apparent to planners that a new approach to the problem of minorities was

<sup>39</sup> Cohen and Marna Glyn, "The Race Relations Board," in Abbott, *Racial Discrimination in Britain*, pp. 267–285.

<sup>40</sup> M. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

<sup>41</sup> One of the weaknesses of the 1968 act may be attributable to the intervention by a Conservative member of Parliament, Enoch Powell, on April 4, 1968, when he was able to "speak the unspeakable," to give voice to what many felt but could not say. Powell put it, "in this country in fifteen or twenty years' time the black man will stand over the white man." For a description of some of the problems, see Dilip Hiro, *Black British, White British*, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 241–253.

<sup>42</sup> The novelty of the 1965 act (compared with American legislation) was its prohibition against "incitement" to racial violence. The background of this was a rather vociferous anti-Semitism in the country in which, among others, Oswald Mosley urged to "Free Britain From Jewish Control." Kushnick, "British Racial Relations," pp. 241–242.

d emphasize not so much civil rights as the oppo-  
resources of those minorities. President Johnson's  
ministered through the Office of Economic Oppo-  
most dramatic and visible manifestation of this ap-  
o aspects of such "development" strategies will  
approach takes the *individual* minority group me-  
reater resource development. The American Indi-  
of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would illustrate this.  
the philosophy behind relocation, the individual  
le to develop his personal resources when he is bo-  
omic resources available on the Indian reservation  
me area of hard-core poverty in American life. This  
flies in the face, of course, of the Indian revitaliza-  
discussed earlier. By most calculations, relocation is c-  
ms of its own aims, since the Indian faces various  
ty without the cushioning effect of the moral suppo-  
result, the Indian either "remains Indian" by associ-  
cs who, like himself, undervalue material acquisition,  
43 or he reacts to the anomie of the urban situation  
ng or some other social pathology.<sup>44</sup>

Other example of planned development of individ-  
und in the area often referred to as "compensato-  
rities. For instance, the federal government provid-  
cts in impoverished areas under Title I of the Eleme-  
ducation Act of 1965. Evaluations of the program h-  
funds have been used in ways that are of doubt-  
ded recipients. Apparently, the Office of Education  
unds, has not insisted on carefully drawn plans for c-  
ey.<sup>45</sup> More visible programs are provided through  
Start, which provides preschool preparation for  
gsters, and Upward Bound programs, which admi-

---

Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area,"  
Indian Identity," *Human Organization*, 23(Winter, 1964):296-304.

Dore D. Graves, "The Personal Adjustment of Navajo Indians  
do," *American Anthropologist*, 72(February, 1970):35-54.

and A. Gickstein, "Federal Educational Programs and Minority  
Education, 1965-1969," *Journal of Education*, 1969, 203, 214.

minority group students to colleges without the usual records. Such programs are limited by (1) the Bunker-like "forgotten American" taxpayers, who are being spent on expensive welfare programs for whom they can barely make ends meet; (2) such nonminority students, who instituted a "discrimination in reverse" lawsuit against the University of Washington for passing over his law school applications of less-qualified minority applicants;<sup>46</sup> (3) the indifference of the minorities themselves toward such programs. For example, that many reservation Indians resent Head Start and other programs that concentrate attention on children, which they see as the *real* need of Indians: the development of job opportunities.<sup>47</sup>

With the advent of the "new ethnicity," with its emphasis on the ethnic community, such individual-oriented development of minority resources have understandably come under attack. Public policy takes account of these feelings and has adopted a new approach that emphasizes *community* development. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized the Office of Economic Opportunity to fund Community Action Programs in which the poor themselves develop programs of community self-improvement.

Indian reservations are a natural area for the development of community action programs. An Indian reservation, which typically qualifies with no exception for the condition of poverty and which has in existence some sort of tribal organization, can provide an organizational base for program planning and implementation. There were, accordingly, sixty-eight such funded Community Action Programs on Indian reservations in 1971.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately for these programs, they were engrafted on a structure of community development that many Indians defined as highly paternalistic. They had been subjected for years to procedures where the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided various services *for* the Indian

---

Totenberg, "Discriminating to End Discrimination," *New York Times*, 1974, pp. 8-9.

Ray L. Wax and Rosalie H. Wax, "The Enemies of the People," in J. H. Coatsworth, E. E. Geer, David Riesman, and Robert S. Weiss (eds.), *Institution and Change* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), pp. 101-118.

George P. Castile, "Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave," *Human Organization*, 33(Fall, 1974):219-228.





ge in a system of ethnic relations. As in our discussion of planned changes, we are concerned with the *effectiveness*: the degree to which they act as contributory factors. There is one perspective on recent protest actions and elsewhere that insists that collective protest — is an extremely fertile source of social change. Conclusion of a study conducted in 1969 by the social science National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, antiwar protest, and student demonstrations as having a strong political design and effect, with major influences as civil rights legislation, the ending of the Vietnam introduction of reforms in college and university admissions. Accounts for some of the success of social movements in arguing that the checks and balances built into the system of government make the system ideal for the preservation of the status not as amenable to change except when the pressure is "applied" by social movements.<sup>57</sup>

Our major problem for analysis is thus the question of whether it is relatively easy or difficult for ethnic movements to bring about desired changes in prevailing ethnic relations. Analysis is provided in the *conflict* perspective on human relations the ubiquity and importance of struggles between groups in undermining any current state of social order. Much of this approach derives, of course, from the Marxian insistence on the primacy of the class struggle and with the continuing efforts of sociologists to explain or to explain away the actual conditions in modern industrial countries. Although our focus is on ethnic rather than class relations, many insights on our subject have flowed from the longstanding effort to reach an understanding of the course of this class struggle.

Robert Dahrendorf is one contemporary "conflict theorist" who, from a perspective of primary interest in class relations, formulates a general model of social conflict that will be useful for our purposes <sup>58</sup> instead of beginning, as do the functionalists,

an assumption of equilibrium—that is, the notion that there is an inherent tendency to sustain the status quo and that change comes from uncontrolled deviations from this tendency—rather than starting from an opposite set of assumptions. We should have us assume that in every social group with “inherent” (with rulers and ruled), subordinate members there is an inherent tendency to revolt against the system in which they are engaged. Any variation from this tendency—any situation that inhibits the organization of struggle between the advantaged and the disadvantaged is explained by the *constraints* on this revolutionary tendency. We ought to bear against potential revolutionaries. The idea of constraint as a factor in inhibiting the development of movements will be useful to us in the analysis that follows. We should pay attention on a very important consideration in the analysis of an ethnic movement: the reactions of persons who are hostile to those movements or even their anticipation of them. Because of the constraining potential and inclination of those in the reins of power, it is by no means obvious that the process of social change is, as Dahrendorf asserts, much better understood in terms of social change than is the functionalist perspective. It is, ironically, that a systematic consideration of constraints on social movements would lead to some skepticism about the desirability—of radical social change and the role of social movements.

In analyzing ethnic movements in relation to constraints, we should be guided by Dahrendorf's suggestion that there are “favorable conditions” that must be favorable if revolutionary action is to be realized. Utilizing its “inherent” potentialities. Dahrendorf calls these conditions organization, conflict, and change.

## Conditions of Organization

For any movement on behalf of any ethnic minority to be effective, ways must be found to get together enough persons to have the power and unity of action to bring effective pressure to bear for the production of change. The mere fact of “common victimization” as discussed in Chapter 3, not always sufficient to generate unity of action. If each victimized individual acts as an individual rather than as a line of a group-determined course of action, there is no effective resistance against subordinate positions but no preponderance of a given change in the status quo of ethnic relations.



**blems of factional division** One prominent one is the prevalence of *factionalism* among minorities. It arises because effective action may require coalitions. The following examples will illustrate some of the problems.

In Britain in 1964 there was launched a Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (C.A.R.D.) aimed at protesting continuing discrimination against Commonwealth immigrants (primarily West Indians).<sup>59</sup> C.A.R.D. was designed to be an "organization coordinating the efforts of the many organizations for colored groups (e.g., the Standing Conference of West Indians, the Indian Workers Association, Great Britain).<sup>60</sup> It soon found itself unable to cope with the factionalism among the organizations. The West Indian organization soon withdrew. Indian leaders thought C.A.R.D. was "white-dominated" and the West Indian group apparently felt its independence threatened by the necessity of coordinating its activities with the organization of organizations." The difficulty of a unified immigrant social movement in Britain may also reflect differences of opinion among the masses of immigrants from different parts of the Commonwealth. It is suggested, for example, that there is a "black" rivalry in Britain that reflects a general tendency of immigrant groups to practice social distance toward each other.<sup>61</sup> Partly because of this factionalism, perhaps, it has been less successful than the civil rights legislation in the United States. The most active activity of minority ethnic groups in Britain played a role in the passage of the Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968. A second instance of factionalism in an ethnic movement is the passive resistance movement in South Africa, especially the 1952 called the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust

---

Benjamin W. Heineman, Jr., *The Politics of the Powerless: A Study of the Problem of Racial Discrimination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 1. The brute fact of discrimination, thought the founder of C.A.R.D., was that "the white man and West Indians together to form such an organization" (Heineman, *op. cit.*, p. 1).

Donald White, "Black v. Pak?" in Donald E. Gelfand and Russell L. Taylor, *Minorities and Power: A Cross-National Perspective* (New York: Wiley, 1968), p. 412.

John Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 1.

and in Chapter 1, South African *apartheid* policies reduced to the same level of extreme deprivation of rights the white groups in the country, native blacks, Indians, and people of mixed racial ancestry. By 1952 the separate groups came together in a campaign of civil disobedience to violate the various *apartheid* rules in the country, using non-violence techniques developed by Gandhi in leading the struggle in Africa before he moved on to leadership of the movement in India. While the campaign failed for other reasons, it failed partly because the different discriminatory *apartheid* worked on these three groups in different ways. It was difficult to agree on an appropriate set of targets for the protest. The leadership ultimately moved away from the tripartite C.A.R.D. to an affiliation with a Pan-Africanist movement from various countries of Africa. As in Britain, cooperation was hindered by feelings of social distance. The coloured groups gave minimal support to the movement, partly because they associated with groups (blacks and Indians) that they considered inferior.

Quite apart from such difficulties of federation or coalition, the experience of protesting social movements may engender a tendency to fragmentation. The C.A.R.D. experience in Great Britain is a good example. The organization was almost immediately torn apart by internal disputes and tactics: specifically, over the issue of whether to demand the repeal of the Commonwealth Immigration Act or whether it should concentrate efforts to strengthen the existing anti-discriminatory legislation in the Race Relations Act of 1968. A similar movement in the United States similarly has been torn apart by internal disputes. Each separate black organization (or even a branch of a given organization) is likely to reflect in aims and tactics the idiosyncracies of its particular members.<sup>65</sup> Such tendencies are understandable if one reflects that it takes the mentality of a person to be involved in a movement. If movement participants are not in action they may not always be willing to compromise or to accommodate the different convictions of other

the case it may be as Weber suggests that a successful revolutionary movement is the presence of a charismatic leader (as Martin Luther King or Cesar Chavez) who can inspire a mass of diverse commitment simply on the basis of that charisma.<sup>66</sup>

**Problems of leadership.** Concerted action in a social movement requires leadership that has not only charisma but also the ability to deal with the complex problems of leading a mass movement. Movements have failed largely because of the lack of effective leadership. Kuper noted that in the 1952 passive resistance campaign in South Africa, many of the campaign's leaders were found guilty of violating laws against opposition to *apartheid* (some of these laws were enacted during the campaign itself) and given lengthy jail sentences that weakened the campaign. The suggestion that the rebellious acts not be repeated. "This removal of these leaders from active roles in the resistance movement, from a perspective of twenty years distance from the event, is a strong suggestion that the campaign may, after all, have been doomed. The leaders of the campaign knew full well that the African nonwhites were not ready to risk great suffering for a defiance campaign, and Kuper asks, with obvious justification, is it expedient to surrender the militant cadres to the state?"<sup>68</sup>

## Conditions of Conflict

Even assuming organized action of an ethnic movement, the revolution may still become far short of the aims of the movement's leaders. The concept of *accommodation* may be brought to bear. Kuper emphasizes, extreme conflict between parties (e.g., between countries) tends to generate forces to bring that conflict to a

---

charisma of Martin Luther King apparently exercised a prominent role in the C.A.R.D. movement in Britain. It was shortly after Dr. King visited Britain that the course of action for the "coloured" people of Britain that the campaign took. *Politics of the Powerless*, pp. 16-19.

Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, p. 192.

Kuper, "Nonviolence Revisited," in Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, *Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Max Weber, *Conflict*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff [and] *The Web of Ideals*, by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955).

ough some conflicts terminate in the unconditional surrender of one party to another, it more often happens that before this happens the contending parties will both define continuation of the conflict as a goal and will search for some compromise by which they can obtain at least for "half a loaf" (or some other fraction thereof) what they want. This compromising tendency sometimes has been attributed to the leaders of social movements. Myrdal thus defines "commodative leadership" among American blacks and argues that, as a result, these leaders develop a vested interest in stalling the process at a point short of total achievement of aims.<sup>70</sup> Such a situation is a "disadvantage of the disadvantages" as their vanity is catered to by leaders who bring them into the councils of the mighty and who, understanding that they will act as a "moderating" influence on the more fervent followers. Perhaps the most insightful sociological analysis of this behavior, however, in a tone of high moral indignation, is given by Robert Adam in his behavior of "parliamentary socialists" who play the role of appearing militant to their proletarian followers but really serve the interests of bourgeois rulers.<sup>71</sup> The other side of this game, also stressed by Myrdal, is the tendency of rulers to be cowardly or fearful of the consequences of a policy of "social peace" whereby they make no demands on proletarian demands to seduce workers into abandoning their revolutionary aims.

The recent situation of the stalled revolution of nonwhites in South Africa seems to highlight this "social peace" stage of the process between whites and nonwhites. According to Adam's analysis, the political rulers of South Africa have abandoned their revolutionary positions. White supremacy ideologies are no longer dominant. If the *apartheid* system continues, it is based on a system of "separate development" for nonwhites, which is a form of institutionalized racism. As an indication of this mellowed official policy, white politicians can now "shake hands and organize conferences with African dignitaries."<sup>72</sup> Nonwhites, on their side, are seduced by the lure of separate development as re-

Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944).  
 Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (New York: Macmillan, 1914).  
 Robert Adam, *Modernizing Racism: Domination in South Africa's Politics* (University of California Press, 1971), p. 72.

plans for self governing Bantustans for native  
er writers had accurately commented on the nigger  
ffered nonwhites for these separate developments  
idea of tribally based "black homelands" has an a  
y blacks to throw themselves enthusiastically into t  
e summer of 1975, there were eight such hom  
s of progress toward self-government; one—the  
homelands of the Xhosa people—had petitioned  
g.<sup>73</sup>

though some observers who have noted such acc  
ies in social movements have come to despair of t  
Sorel's analysis suggests another possibility: accom  
a temporary stage on the way to more profound  
predicts, with obvious relish, the day when the p  
epay with "black ingratitude" the benevolences  
rs by a violent mass action that lays bare the ephem  
mmodative stage. At this point, rulers will underst  
ring with "social peace" and will go back to their a  
f exploiting the masses. Thus the movement for cha  
rd the ultimate revolution of an aroused mass again  
rship. It is tempting, certainly, to apply the Sore  
opment and course of the Black Power moveme  
s. The urban street riots of 1962–1968 were certain  
y whites as evidence of "black ingratitude," a reso  
blacks were beginning to make significant gain  
s. The white backlash that supports, for example, th  
of George Wallace reflects the possibility of a great  
onflict between the races in the United States.<sup>75</sup> Th  
n American blacks defined the riots as in some m  
' contrasts sharply with the perceptions of white  
he riots as counterproductive of good race relations

---

*h Africa Digest*, June 13, 1975, p. 1.

, *Reflections on Violence*

hour M. Lipset and Earl Raab, "The Wallace White Lash," *Trans*  
23–25

e Erskine, "The Polls, Demonstrations and Race Riots," *Pub*

## Conditions of Change

We have just examined conditions that might lead to a more moderate view of desired changes. Even if the tendency is circumvented, however, it is by no means certain that the movement will succeed in its more radical aims. Much depends on the capacity of dominant groups to maintain their power in the face of challenges to that dominance. Since dominant groups, by definition, possess the power in the current social order, it would be surprising if the lack of will to use that power would be a necessary condition for any fundamental change in the ethnic status quo. The question for us is not whether, but under what conditions do dominant groups lose their power. One possibility is that, over a long period of evolution, a social movement may come a dawning realization by dominant groups that the existing social order is inequities of social practice that must be removed. J. B. Rose, borrowing a phrase from the late Adlai Stevenson, has described the liberal hour as it comes to be in a country a "liberal hour." "This is the hour when men of all shades of opinion, from radical to conservative, agree on the necessity of a movement in policy on a social problem in a particular direction."<sup>77</sup> Rose felt that the liberal hour for the United States was from about 1966 to 1968, ending, perhaps, with the Vietnam War. The zenith of the liberal hour in the United States has been reached in 1964, when Senator Everett Dirksen, for his political liberality, gave his support to the Civil Rights Act, thereby indicating that, once an idea's time has come, no opposition is likely. The description of this liberal consensus as a moment in time is, of course, a simplification. In most social movements most of the time will have been spent in the face of a disposition of will on the part of dominant groups. We must ask, then, how dominant groups, even against their own interests, are forced to make radical concessions to the demands of subordinate groups.

A very useful idea in this regard is Lipsky's suggestion that a social movement will succeed to the extent that it is able to mobilize the support of *third parties* to the direct confrontation between dominant and subordinate groups.<sup>78</sup> As long as the civil rights movement in the United States was simply a struggle of southern blacks

er structure of the South, there was no question of movement. When non-Southerners like Senator Dirksen saw that civil rights legislation had come, it was surely because of the publicized nonviolent sit-ins and Freedom Rides of southern students. By a number of concerned northern and southern whites, the moral consciousness and the conscience of Americans were awakened. Early, perhaps the only real hope nonwhite South Africans had was that their protests against *apartheid* would be successful. The possibility of attracting sympathetic support from other nations, of having sanctions imposed against South Africa, or of persuading one of the major world powers to act on behalf of their protests. The failure, as described by Legum, of these third party supports to materialize helps explain, along with other reasons discussed above, the recently staged white protest in South Africa.<sup>79</sup>

The key, then, to a successful ethnic movement, is the ability to capture the attention and the sympathy of the general public. Movement leaders require a *dramatic* flair for those actions that are able to attract public attention to their cause. Some of the recent actions of the American Indian movement are notable in this regard. The protest activity has made good copy for news reports. The occupation of the island of Alcatraz, the land claims suits demanding return of confiscated Indian lands, the "fish-ins" along the Pacific Northwest, the personalized protest actions of Mad Bear Anderson. To assess the impact of these actions on general public opinion is a difficult task. American Indians have certainly made their presence felt. Whether they cast the Indian in the public mind as the long-sufferer or in the *fool's* role of a perpetrator is another question.<sup>81</sup>

---

Legum, "Color and Power in the South African Situation," pp. 483-495.

A detailed description of the activities of Mad Bear Anderson, see "The American Indian," in Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert J. M. Hoegh, *Americans Today* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 490-498. For a discussion of Indian protest activities, especially the "fish-ins," see "The Role of Activism as a Social Movement," in Bahr, Chadwick, and Hoegh, *Americans Today*, pp. 506-532.

The distinction between the hero and fool types in public images is discussed in H. J. Vans and Fools: *The Changing American Character* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 10-11.

posing such aileged injustices to wider audiences  
place markedly greater pressure on dominant groups  
ices. In the case of South Africa, it has been shown  
of *apartheid* by most of the rest of the world has  
on the faith of whites in the rightness of their practice  
a government has successfully assured its own  
l's "adverse criticism springs from sheer ignorance  
overs cannot have so intimate a knowledge of the no  
have spent their lives among them. The only exper  
ons are white South African adults."<sup>82</sup> Similarly  
icans have claimed that northern criticism is based  
with the black. Many southern whites undoubtedly  
nor" of the practice of White Citizens Councils of sp  
arse freedom rides" in which indigent blacks or th  
ds were given "free rides" to northern cities. Cou  
d that "we want to see if northern politicians really  
whether they love his vote."<sup>83</sup>

Whether or not third parties are appealed to, it would  
ite success of a movement depends on some ability  
on the consciences of the power holders. Except for  
e liberal hour, this may be a very difficult thing  
hi's successful use of *Satyagraha*—conversion th  
based on just such a conversion of the powerful  
cience upon witnessing the extreme suffering of Gan  
f of his cause. Martin Luther King—and through  
ress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.)—adapted the C  
considerable success<sup>84</sup> As Kuper points out, the  
y failed when attempted in the South African defia  
. Demonstrators were not prepared for their minor  
*theid* laws to be met with such an intense offic  
als saw these small offenses as symbolic of an int  
fy all established "law and order," and reacted ac

---

er, *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, p. 167.

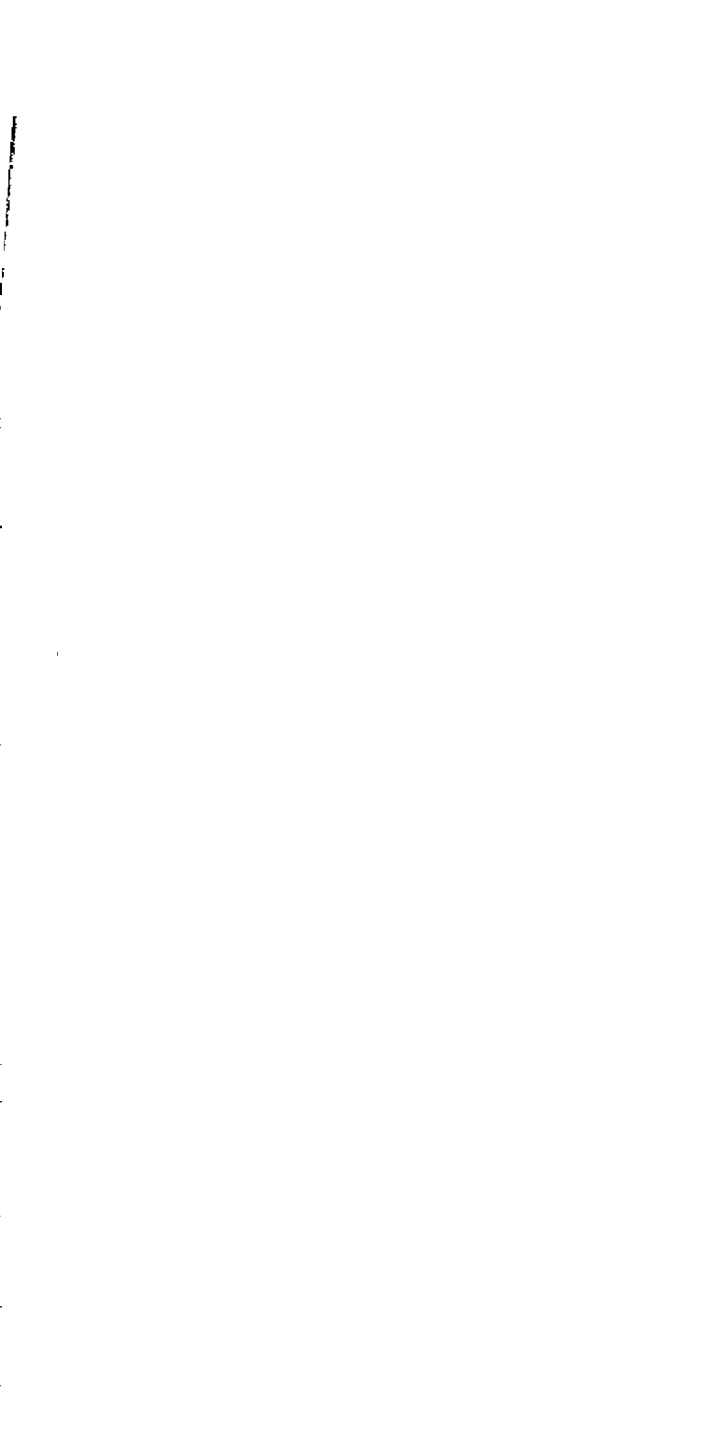
R. McMillen, *The Citizens Council: Organized Resistance to the  
1954-64* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 231.

Powell Bell, *CORE and the Strategy of Nonviolence* (New York



notes, The resisters were told that all they needed to do was to go to imprisonment for a period of three to six weeks; that it was only for a limited amount of suffering, and not for continuing suffering to death if necessary, as Mahatma Gandhi required from his followers.

We might come finally to the reluctant conclusion that nonviolent movements depend for their ultimate success on either the moral authority of conscience in high places, such as Adlai Stevenson; or the moral authority of charismatic individuals, such as Gandhi or Martin Luther King, who are prepared to undertake a "suffering to death." Given the current conditions, it is understandable that all the sound and fury of nonviolent movements so frequently terminate in less than spectacular results.



# AUTHOR INDEX

- Abbott, Simon, 168-170  
Abel, Theodore, 30  
Ablon, Joan, 26, 71  
Abrams, Elliott, 168  
Abramson, Harold J., 21  
Adam, Heribert, 180  
Adamic, Louis, 27  
Adams, Arvil V., 166  
Adams, W. A., 89  
Adelson, Joseph, 60  
Aldrich, Howard E., 113  
Alter, Robert, 42  
Alvirez, David, 114  
Anderson, Bernard E., 105  
Anderson, Elin L., 53  
Arond, Henry, 129
- Bahr, Howard M., 35, 52, 65, 183  
Bailey, Ronald W., 107  
Baltzell, E. Digby, 27, 129  
Banton, Michael, 20, 88, 92, 106, 136, 162  
Barber, Bernard, 56  
Baron, Harold M., 121  
Barron, Milton, 20  
Bates, Robert H., 159  
Becker, Ernest, 127  
Becker, Howard S., 172  
Bell, Inge P., 184  
Benedict, Libby, 87  
Benedict, Ruth, 37  
Bennett, George, 159  
Bennett, John W., 51  
Berger, Morroe, 30, 49, 166  
Berry, Brewton, 14  
Berthoff, Rowland T., 54  
Berube, Maurice R., 77  
Billingsley, Andrew, 106  
Binzen, Peter, 96  
Blacklock, Hubert M., 110

- Blau, Peter  
Blumer, M.  
Blumrosen, M.  
Bodner, N.  
Boesel, F.  
Bogardus, E.  
Bogue, J.  
Bonacich, P.  
Bongartz, J.  
Borrie, V.  
Bosanquet, J.  
Breton, R.  
Briar, S.  
Broom, J.  
Brotz, H.  
Brown, J.  
Brown, J.  
Bruner, J.  
Bryce-Lake, J.  
Burgess, J.  
Burns, H.

- Caditz, J.  
Calonicco, J.  
Campbell, J.  
Carlson, J.  
Carroll, J.  
Castile, C.  
Castro, T.  
Caudill, J.  
Chadwick, J.  
Child, J.  
Cochran, J.  
Cohen, A.  
Cohen, A.  
Cohen, E.  
Cohen, E.  
Cohen, F.

an James S 154  
 John, 48, 173  
 Mary E , 99  
 Stuart W , 99  
 , Charles H , 86  
 Lewis A , 59  
 a, Frances R , 166  
 Robert L., 155  
 Harold, 35  
  
 Robert A , 120  
 ndorf, Ralf, 175, 176  
 Badr, 108  
 W. W., 170  
 s, Roger, 46  
 Stephen, 121  
 on, Chandler, 86, 99  
 Robert C., 35, 52, 65, 183  
 , Carl N , 17, 69, 70  
 h, Morton, 99  
 , George, 65, 151  
 ger, Peter B., 112  
 d, John, 42, 100, 126, 140, 149  
 a, Floyd, 15  
 a, Lillian, 15  
 ss, William A., 15  
 s, James F., 44  
 s, Robert J., 54  
 nt, Robert V., 52  
 em, Emile, 9  
  
 Joseph, 51  
 son, M. S , 107  
 ds, Harry, 64, 130  
 adt, S. N., 24, 158  
 D. Stanley, 130  
 a, Cynthia F., 114, 154  
 a, Edwin M., 107  
 e, Hazel, 181  
 n, P. C , 94  
  
 Reynolds, 113  
 ger, Leon, 147  
 ne, Harold, 151  
 r, Claude S , 159  
 A. D., 52  
 an, Joshua A., 61  
 rick, Joseph P., 53  
 g, Karl H 121  
 Eugene P 108

Fong, S  
 Ford, V  
 Forman  
 Franks,  
 Frazier,  
 Freedm  
 Freema  
 Friedm  
 Friedm  
 Fuguitt,  
  
 Gaitz, C  
 Gallow  
 Gans, E  
 Garrar  
 Geer, E  
 Gelfan,  
 Gerlach  
 Gerth,  
 Gittell,  
 Glass,  
 Glazer,  
 Glenn,  
 Glickst  
 Glyn, M  
 Goerin  
 Goffma  
 Goldso  
 Goldste  
 Goodra  
 Gordon  
 Granov  
 Graves  
 Greble  
 Greele  
 34  
 Greent  
 Greer,  
 Grinds  
 Gullive  
 Guzma  
  
 Hallow  
 Hampt  
 Handli  
 Hanna  
 Hanna  
 Hanne  
 Hansen  
 Harris

Heinemann, Benjamin W., 177-179

Herberg, Will, 20, 27, 65

Hermalin, Albert, 113

Higham, John, 143

Hine, Virginia H., 178

Hiro, Dilip, 26, 170

Hobart, Charles W., 52

Hodge, Claire C., 113

Holtzman, Jo, 31

Horton, John, 151

Hostetler, John A., 51

Hraba, Joseph, 60

Hughes, Everett, 15, 20

Humphreys, Claire, 35

Hund, James M., 107

Hunt, Chester L., 18, 23, 33, 47, 62, 118,  
120

Hunter, Guy, 161

Huntington, Gertrude E., 51

Hutchinson, Harry W., 18

Irelan, Lola M., 152

Jackson, John A., 53

Johnson, Charles S., 128, 150

Junker, B. A., 89

Keil, Charles, 109

Kelner, Merrijoy, 122

Kennedy, Ruby Jo R., 19

Kent, Donald, 32

Kephart, William M., 66

Killian, Lewis, 25, 63, 101

Kinzer, Robert H., 108

Kitano, Harry H. L., 63, 76, 111

Klapp, Orrin E., 183

Kluckhohn, Florence, 38, 152

Kohn, Melvin L., 146

Komarovsky, Mirra, 106

Korte, Charles, 155

Kosa, John, 70

Kramer, Judith R., 33, 48, 51, 66

Kramer, Michael S., 21, 122

Krausz, Ernest, 28

Kroeber, Alfred A., 40

Kuhn, Manford H., 13

Kuper, Leo, 50, 104, 161, 177-179, 184,  
185

Kushnick, Louis, 169-170

Kutner, Nancy O.  
Kwan, Kian M.,

Ladinsky, Jack,

Lamanna, Richard

LaPiere, Richard

Lazerwitz, Bernard

Lee, Russell D.,

Legum, Colin, 1

Lerner, Daniel,

Leventman, Seymour

Levine, Stuart, 4

Levy, Mark R., 2

Lewin, Julius, 22

Lewin, Kurt, 59

Lewis, Hylan G.

Lewis, Oscar, 15

Lieberson, Stanley

Liebman, Charles

Liebow, Elliott, 1

Light, Ivan H., 1

Lincoln, C. Eric,

Lind, Andrew W.

Lindgren, Ethel J.

Linton, Ralph, 4

Lipset, Seymour

Lipsky, Michael,

Little, Kenneth L.

Litwack, Leon, 1

Lloyd, P. C., 16

Lopreato, Joseph

Lowi, Theodore

Lurie, Nancy O.

Lyman, Stanford

McCord, John H.

McFee, Malcolm

Macgregor, Gordon

MacIver, Robert

McLemore, Dale

McMillen, Neil F.

McNickle, D'Arcy

McPartland, Thomas

McPhail, Clark,

Madsen, William

Manners, Robert

Mannheim, Karl,

Mannoni, O., 15

Martin, Galen 1

# OR INDEX

, Philip, 56, 60, 86, 92, 93, 118, 140, 152  
 , Kurt, 43  
 , Martin, 168  
 , Philip, 42, 158  
 , Ali A., 179  
 , George H., 148  
 , Paul, 50  
 , Robert K., 146  
 , Stanley, 155  
 , J. Clyde, 159  
 , Oliver C., 152  
 , Harvey, 95  
 , M. F. Ashley, 132  
 , Joan W., 31, 35, 74, 115, 117  
 , David D., 98, 99  
 , Richard T., 54  
 , Daniel P., 49, 63  
 , Chns, 91  
 , Gunnar, 17, 141, 180  
 , Saad Z., 112  
 , Vladimir, 61  
 , Joanne, 60  
 , Donald L., 132-138  
 , J. F., 138  
 , Michael, 17, 28, 34  
 , Richard, 30, 62  
 , Earl, 107  
 , Spencer, 46  
 , Patrick, 124, 125  
 , Peter B., 22  
 , Robert M., 152  
 , Charles H., 30  
 , J. John, 121  
 , Talcott, 17  
 , Alan, 40  
 , Sheila, 168, 177  
 , Henry, 33  
 , William, 69, 71, 134  
 , Thomas F., 96, 97, 145, 153  
 , Irving, 125  
 , Lawrence F., 32  
 , Julian, 17, 69  
 , Steven, 43  
 , Craig K., 60  
 , John, 41

Pou  
 Pow  
 Pric  
 Pric  
 Prpe  
 Puz  
 Raab  
 Rich  
 Ries  
 Ring  
 Ring  
 Roc  
 Roh  
 Roll  
 Rose  
 Rose  
 Rose  
 Roth  
 Roth  
 Rub  
 Sagar  
 Sam  
 Sam  
 Sand  
 Sasa  
 Saw  
 Schi  
 Schi  
 Schi  
 Schi  
 Schw  
 Seab  
 Segar  
 Selz  
 Seng  
 Senn  
 Shar  
 Shev  
 Shib  
 Shuv  
 Sido  
 Sieg  
 Silve  
 Silve  
 Simi  
 Si  
 Sim

- d C. P., 51  
 ickard L., 160  
 Marshall, 21, 28, 43, 44, 60, 62, 68,  
 -76, 151  
 x, Jerome, 175  
 ek, R. L., 43  
 Georges, 180, 181  
 Alan L., 105  
 r, Elmer A., 112  
 eo, 31, 52, 112  
 C. Hoy, 130, 144  
 g, Stephen, 110, 168  
 Anselm, 14  
 eck, Fred L., 38, 151, 152  
 William G., 37, 133  
 Gerald D., 42, 64  
 r, Alma F., 94  
 r, Karl E., 94  
 baum, Frank, 137  
 l, 173  
 Corneff, 121  
 anton K., 54  
 rom, Stephan, 46  
 Darwin L., 100  
 John L., 21  
 Robert K., 42, 77, 85, 117, 173  
 Mischa, 138  
 on, R. F., 27  
 erg, Nina, 172  
 James W., 74  
 ustin T., 125  
 to, 145  
 Berghe, Pierre L., 14, 22, 23, 42, 46,  
 50, 61, 93, 94, 119, 136, 144  
 van der Horst, Shiefa, 161  
 Wagatsuma, Hiroshi, 65, 88, 89,  
 Wagley, Charles, 17  
 Wahrhaftig, Albert L., 42, 85  
 Walker, Deward A., 48  
 Walker, Lewis, 18, 23, 33, 47, 62  
 Walkley, Rosabelle P., 99  
 Ware, Caroline, 63  
 Warner, W. Lloyd, 31, 52, 89, 1  
 Wasserstein, Bernard, 28  
 Wax, Murray L., 48, 52, 55, 56,  
 Wax, Rosalie H., 172  
 Weber, Max, 80, 81, 83, 103, 1  
 Weinberg, S. Kirson, 129  
 Weingood, Alex, 173  
 Weinstock, S. Alexander, 31, 36  
 Weiss, Robert S., 172  
 White, David, 177  
 Wilensky, Harold L., 34  
 Willems, Emilio, 17  
 Williams, Lea E., 119  
 Williams, Robin M., 64, 98, 146  
 Wilner, Daniel M., 99  
 Wirt, Frederick M., 164–167  
 Witherspoon, Joseph P., 165  
 Wolf, Eric R., 119  
 Wolff, Kurt, 127  
 Wolfgang, Marvin E., 124  
 Wolpe, Harold, 160, 161  
 Yetman, Norman R., 130, 144  
 Yinger, J. Milton, 46, 89, 98, 107,  
 163, 164  
 Zborowski, Mark, 38, 152  
 Zubaida, Sami, 160





# SUBJECT INDEX

- Accommodation, to subordinate status, 149-151, 179-181
- Acculturation, 39-55
  - attitudes toward, 65
  - disorganizing effects, of, 39, 40, 56
  - selectivity of, 40-45
  - as source of ethnic cleavage, 64-67
  - variations in, 45-55
- administered communities, 173
- Affirmative action, 167, 168
- Africa:
  - bicultural natives, 42
  - European colonies in, 47
  - European exclusiveness in, 50
  - industrialization in, 161, 162
  - urbanization in, 161, 162
  - Askaners, 22, 180
  - ethnocentrism, American Indian, 106
  - Guinea, anticolonial revolt, 119, 141, 142
  - "American dilemma," 17
  - American Indians:
    - acceptability to whites, 54
    - acculturation, attitudes toward, 65
    - acculturation, selective, 40, 44
    - ethnocentrism, 106
    - cultural life styles, 43
    - under British and U.S. rule, 120
    - cities, ethnic identity, 25, 26
    - Community Action Programs, 172-174
    - "cowboy" life style, 44
    - cultural values, 38, 152
    - Denver, 106, 171
    - dependency pattern, 152, 153
    - disorganizing effects of acculturation, 40
    - intellectuals, 35
    - marriage, 45
    - Los Angeles, 26
    - Oklahoma, 42, 85
    - opposition to Head Start, 172
    - politics
    - proletarian
    - relations
    - resistance
    - revolt
    - in South Africa
    - schools
    - as slaves
    - unemployment
    - visibility
- Anglo-Canadian
- Anglo-Saxon
- cultural
- See *al.*
- Anticolonial
- Algeria
- India, 1
- Indonesia
- intellectual
- Kenya,
- Malaysia,
- Rhodesia
- Uganda,
- Anti-Semitism
  - among blacks
  - in Britain
  - among Indians
  - among Jews
  - in Soviet Union
- Apartheid (South Africa)
  - ideological
  - levels of social
  - "modernization"
  - polarizing
  - protests against
  - white work
- Arapaho Indians
- Armed forces

in Africa, 14, 15, 61, 119  
assimilationist colonial policy, 118  
assimilation  
    Africans and Germans in, 49  
    Africans and Europeans in, 47  
assimilation policy (South Africa), 23, 180,  
    181  
cultural life styles, 42, 43  
culturalism  
    in Canada, 43  
    in African-Americans, 43  
    in Switzerland, 43  
capitalism, 107-111  
    lower movement.  
    nationalism in, 178  
    reactions to, 181  
    studies, 78  
    in Great Britain.  
    immigration resistance, 31  
    national identity, 26  
    relation with whites, 91  
    distance toward, 87, 88, 92  
    also Great Britain: Commonwealth  
    immigrants  
    in Japan, 88  
    in U.S.:  
    accommodation reactions to subordina-  
    tion, 149  
    immigration, attitudes toward, 65  
    xenophobia among, 110  
    attitudes toward white merchants, 110  
    bourgeoisie, 31, 32  
    Jews, 57  
    Muslims, 57, 111  
    Chicago, 64, 121  
    cosmopolitanism, 63, 64  
    demands for educational autonomy, 78  
    dependency pattern, 153  
    segregation and racial attitudes, 99, 100  
    discriminatory etiquette, 128  
    employment discrimination, 112, 113,  
    113-155  
    entrepreneurial activity, 107-111  
    intellectuals, 35  
    marriage, 89  
    in North S.C., 65  
    enforcement discrimination against,  
    114-126  
    cultural influence, 120-123

    protests, 180-181  
    racial pride, 31,  
    rejection by whites  
    relations with Mexico  
    segregation pattern  
    self-hatred among  
    slavery, explanation  
    sports participation  
    unemployment,  
    white advantages  
    140  
    white attitudes to  
    "white folks man"  
Boston  
    employment in  
    Italian-Americans  
    Italian-Irish rivalry  
    Jewish professors  
    school desegrega-  
Brazil  
    Japanese in, 138  
    race vs. class ide-  
    racial identity in,  
British-Americans, 5  
Burlington, Vt., eth-  
Business ownership  
California:  
    Chinese in, 53  
    opposition to Ori-  
    poor Anglos, bla-  
    ing, 152  
    wage discrimina-  
    Americans, 111  
Campaign Against  
    (Britain), 177,  
Campaign for the D  
    (South Africa),  
Canada.  
    bilingualism, 43  
    ethnic charter gro-  
    Hungarians, 70  
    Indians, accultura-  
    Indians and Eskim-  
    ward, 54  
    Indians, self-hatre  
    pluralism, 49  
Catholic Americans  
    ethnic concious-  
    feelings of discn-

marriage, 19, 20  
Italian rivalry, 136  
styles, 42  
church education, 73, 74  
relations with Protestants, 95  
also Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans  
ethnic groups, 41  
to:  
black community, 64  
business, political influence of, 121  
employment in black ghetto, 113  
market riots, and attitudes toward immigrants, 46  
non-Americans, 64  
spatial concentration of ethnics, 33  
school segregation, 95  
social segregation, 96  
toward southerners, 25, 63  
studies, 78  
trends. *See* Mexican-Americans  
etc.  
immigrants, 71  
Southeast Asia, 33, 53, 72, 119  
non-Americans:  
assimilation, attitudes toward, 65  
education, 72  
entrepreneurial activity, 109-111  
employment patterns, 71  
immigration restriction, 133  
immigrants, 33, 51  
immigrants in Arabs, U.S., 21  
Iraqi, school segregation in, 96  
rights of ethnic groups, 123-126  
rights legislation.  
employment problems, 144-147, 163-170  
in Britain, 168-170  
in United States, 163-168  
service and ethnic discrimination, 154, 155  
conflict and racial conflict, 104, 161, 162  
consciousness and race consciousness, 161, 162  
nationalism and ethnic relations, 117-120  
also Anticolonial revolutions  
settled in South Africa, identity, 14  
mission on Civil Rights, 164  
Commonwealth immigrants. *See* Great Britain  
Commonwealth

Community Action  
Community control  
Compensatory education  
Competition, as  
    factor, 134-135  
Conciliation, as tactic, 163-166, 167  
Conflict:  
    and ethnic movement  
    as source of ethnic movement  
Congress of Racial Affairs  
Contact hypothesis  
Croatian-Americans  
Cultural deprivation  
    nonacculturation  
Culture of poverty  
Czechoslovakia, ethnic groups, 145

Dakar, Senegal:  
    French and national  
    tribalism in, 161  
Dallas, Texas, white  
Dayton, Ohio, racial  
Delinquency.  
    and economic problems  
    police treatment  
Denver, Indians in  
Dependency relations  
Development of  
    174  
Direct rule, 47  
Discrimination in  
    in employment,  
    in school admission,  
    in sports participation  
Dozens, playing the

East Chicago, Ind.,  
    53  
Echelon relations  
    98, 127, 128  
Economic stratification  
Education, ethnic:  
    American Indian  
    black studies, 71  
    Chinese, 72  
    Hutterites, 51  
    Japanese-American  
    Mexican-American  
    *See also* Parochial

as factor in  
 ion, 154  
 ment discrimination.  
 lation against, 163-170  
 rns of, 105-116, 153-155  
 ment, integration in, 101  
 my. See Intermarriage  
 Employment Opportunity Commis-  
 on, 164-166  
 in Canada, 54  
 te, Japan, 65  
 community, 58-78  
 oup solidarity, 59-67  
 titutional self-sufficiency, 68-78  
 dynamics, 156-185  
 groups, 7-78  
 pared with ethnic relations, 2, 3  
 ed, 9-12  
 identity, 13-36  
 ition of, 13  
 t, 15, 16  
 /s. other, 13-15  
 tions in, 16-36  
 life styles, 37-57  
 lturation, 39-55  
 alization, 55-57  
 movements, 84, 174-185  
 relations:  
 pared with ethnic groups, 2, 3  
 e of, 80-84  
 stratification:  
 ed, 83  
 nsions of, 102-131  
 tenance of, 139-155  
 ns of, 132-139  
 entrism, as factor in ethnic stratifica-  
 n, 133, 134  
 e, discriminatory, 126-128  
  
 alism:  
 ng immigrant ethnics, 61, 62  
 cial movements, 177-179  
 ployment Practices Committee, 163  
 colonial policy, 47, 50, 118, 140  
 Canadians:  
 qualism, 43  
 irlington, Vt., 53  
 nkee City, 52  
 ns  
 lturation on, 48

discrim-

and m

Gary, Ind., first b  
 Generations and  
 German-American  
 ethnic consciou  
 30  
 factionalism du  
 failure of "New  
 intellectuals, 31  
 Germans in Austr  
 Ghana, Mossi trib  
 Ghost Dance reli  
 Great Britain:  
 blacks in, 91  
 civil rights legis  
 class system, 9  
 colonial policy,  
 Commonwealth  
 26, 31, 91,  
 dual labor mar  
 ethnic distance  
 immigration res  
 Irish in, 53  
 Jews in, 23, 14  
 Pakistanis in, 1  
 Greek-Americans  
 Greenwich Villag  
 63  
 Gypsies, discrimi  
 tries, 145  
  
 Hausa tribesmen,  
 Head Start, 171,  
 Honolulu, Hawaii  
 Japanese-Ameri  
 segregation pat  
 Houston, Texas, i  
 Human rights cor  
 Hungarian-Ameri  
 ethnic identity  
 ethnic identity  
 Hungarians in C  
 70  
 Hutterites, resist  
  
 Immigrants:  
 employment di  
 ethnic attitudes  
 Immigration restri  
 Great Britain 1

colonial revolt, 119, 141, 178, 184  
 sh colonial rule, 118  
 e system, 88  
 a, Jewish-Gentile intermarriage, 21  
 s (from India)  
 ast and South Africa, 61  
 Rhodesia, 14, 15  
 nous superordination, 41  
 t rule, 47  
 sia, Chinese in, 72, 119  
 rialization and ethnic relations, 160–  
 62  
 ional completeness, 67  
 ional discrimination, 153–155  
 ions, ethnic:  
 cation, 71–78  
 riage, 68–71  
 ctuals:  
 ic identity, 33–36  
 stance to acculturation, 32  
 school segregation issue, 96  
 oup relationships, defined, 81, 82  
 arriage:  
 acculturation, 45  
 olonizing situations, 68–70  
 ethnic survival, 68  
 awaii, 91  
 al, and social status, 89  
 ed States, 19–21, 89  
 al colonialism, 117  
 Jewish-Gentile intermarriage, 21  
 mercials:  
 udes toward Catholics in Northern Ire-  
 nd, 28  
 oston, 136  
 ural values, 38, 39  
 rmarriage, 21  
 rofessional boxing, 129  
 rovidence, R.I., 29  
 ry with Italian-Americans, 136  
 ankee City, 31  
 n Britain, 53  
 cts on world Jewish consciousness, 28  
 ic division within, 60  
 Americans:  
 ommodation reactions to subordina-  
 on- 149  
 ulturation resistance 53

m Boston  
 m Chicago  
 cultural va  
 ethnic ide  
 in Los Ang  
 marriage c  
 name cha  
 in professi  
 in Provide  
 provinciali  
 rivalry with  
 in Yankee  
 Italians in Au

#### Japan:

blacks in,  
 Eta caste i

Japanese-Am  
 entrepreneur  
 ethnic sch  
 in Hawaii,  
 immigration  
 picture bri  
 prostitution  
 provinciali  
 sex ratios  
 success an

Japanese in L

Jewish Amer  
 acculturati  
 acculturati  
 in black gh  
 cultural va  
 ethnic con  
 identity am  
 interaction  
 intermarria  
 Jewish edu  
 In New Ha  
 nonethnic  
 occupation  
 opposition  
 parochial e  
 in professi  
 professors  
 self-hatred  
 in small to  
 status rise,  
 stereotyped  
 success an  
 in Yankee

- in Britain 23 143 170
- , South Carolina, 65
- ra:
- iticolonial revolt, 119
- hites and nationalist revolution, 123
- r market, ethnic discrimination, 111–113
- eville" (midwest U.S. suburb):
- wish attitude toward Jews, 65–67
- wish-Gentile relations, 77, 91, 97
- gregation patterns, 94
- uages, prestige of, 61
- it ethnic identities, 15, 16
- enforcement discrimination, 124–126
- of third generation return, 27, 28
- lation See Civil rights legislation
- ral hour" in ethnic relations, 182
- Rock, Ark., school desegregation crisis, 145
- on, England:
- oured immigrants in, 88
- nic particularism among business leaders, 154
- House religion, American Indians, 56
- ngeles:
- merican Indians in, 26
- xican-Americans, parochial education, 4
- ish-Americans, 29, 31
- ool segregation in, 96
- its riot, 1965, and police, 124
- gascar, native European relations, 153
- sla, Chinese in, 72, 119
- huria, Cossack-Tungus relations, 134, 35
- an-Hidatsa Indians 44, 45
- (New Zealand), law enforcement discrimination against, 124, 125
- ge. See Intermarriage, Sexual relations
- an-Americans:
- ltural life styles, 43
- ano studies programs, 78
- ral values, 38, 152
- ast Chicago, Ind., 50, 53
- loyment, and acculturation, 52
- ic identity and social class, 31 32
- parochial ed-
- relations with
- relations with
- in San Antonio
- social distance
- subordination
- wage discrim-
- Mexico:
- ethnic identity
- and Mexican
- Spanish influ-
- Middleman mir
- Migrant superoi
- Milwaukee, poli
- Minority groups
- Minority respon-
- Miscegenation.
- Modernization
- 162
- Montreal:
- bilingualism, 4
- institutional
- groups, 67
- Mormons:
- cultural values
- frontier coloni-
- Mossi tribesmen
- Names, and ethn-
- 130
- National origins:
- as basis of ethn-
- vs. religion at
- 19–22
- Navaho Indians,
- Neighborhoods:
- ethnic exclusiv-
- and school seg-
- Netherlands, coli-
- New Haven, Con-
- Jews and Italia-
- marriage patte-
- New Mexico:
- ethnic groups i-
- Mexican-Amer-
- New Orleans, bl-
- New York City:
- blacks and Jew-
- blacks, politica-
- Catholic paroch-

life styles, 38  
restaurants, 109  
non-Americans, lack of political power,  
1  
alism, 49  
to Ricans, 33, 53  
school segregation in, 96  
Zealand:  
discrimination against Maoris, 124  
ives and Europeans, 47  
ort News, Va., employment discrimination case, 165  
a, tribalism in, 158, 159  
gian-Americans, frontier colonies, 49  
ation and ethnic identity, 32-36  
oma, Indians and whites, 42, 85  
fricanism, 23, 178  
dianism and urbanization, 25, 26  
ual education:  
olic, 73, 74  
sh, 74, 75  
estant, 75, 76  
a/so Education, ethnic  
larism and employment discrimination, 154, 155  
e resistance:  
a, 178, 184  
h Africa, 177-179, 184, 185  
ed States (blacks), 183, 184  
alism:  
American Indians, 77, 172, 173  
sh colonial policy, 118  
competition as ethnic relation, 136  
apanese in, 138  
elphia:  
school segregation in, 96  
e police estimates of number of black policemen, 66  
ines, Chinese in, 33  
e brides, Japanese, 71  
ugh, Croatian immigrants, 61  
ism, cultural:  
merican ideal, 45, 46  
adian, 49  
ast Chicago, Ind., 49, 50  
ew York City, 49  
brutality, 124  
Americans:  
21  
n Los Angeles, 20, 31

n Yankee City, 5  
Political stratification  
Portugal, colonial p  
Power:  
as basis of ethnic  
as factor in ethnic  
forms of (Weber)  
Prejudice:  
and immigration  
as stratification-m  
See also Stereoty  
Primary groups and  
Prostitution and im  
Protestant establish  
Protestant ethic, 11  
Protestants:  
attitudes toward C  
and Mexican-Ame  
ministers in Little  
crisis, 145  
Providence, R.I., Ita  
Provincialism:  
home country, bet  
after immigration,  
Puerto Rican-Ameri  
33, 53  
  
Race, as basis of eth  
Race Relations Boar  
Racially mixed peop  
South Africa, 14  
United States, 14  
Racism:  
vs. racialism, in S  
United States, 142  
Religion:  
as basis of ethnic  
vs. national origins  
tity, 19-22  
Relocation (of Amer  
Residential segregati  
and interracial pre  
in New York City,  
and school integra  
Restaurants, ethnic,  
Revitalization, 55-5  
Rhodesia:  
anticolonial revolt  
and  
ndians in, 14, 15

a:  
u-Tutsi relations, 60, 92  
lution in, 104  
n-Americans in Yankee City, 52  
is, blacks in, 150  
ntonio, Texas, Mexican-American bi-  
gualism, 43  
ancisco, relocated Indians, 26, 171  
navian studies, 78  
segregation:  
employment discrimination, 155  
ited States, 95, 96  
s. See Education, ethnic  
ation.  
merican cities, 94  
onolulu, 94  
akeville," 94  
ol, U S , 95, 96  
social distance, 93-97  
outh Africa, see Apartheid  
tered in ethnic groups, 59, 148  
in postrevolutionary societies, 119,  
20, 142  
ios of immigrants, 68, 69  
relations:  
nizing men with indigenous women,  
3-70  
ethnic, difficulties in, 92  
nese and Caucasian, 91  
e stereotypes of black, 125, 126  
a/so Intermarriage  
ne Indians, 44, 54  
class and ethnic identity, 30-32  
distance, 83, 85-101  
ophysical distance (segregation), 93, 94  
distance scales, 88  
interaction, 80  
relationships, 80-84  
stratification, 126-131  
ner attitudes of immigrants:  
acculturation, 53, 108, 109  
entrepreneurial activity, 110, 111  
fe style of U.S. blacks, 54, 64, 108,  
9  
Africa:  
ustan policy, 23, 180, 181  
onal/tribal origins vs. racial identities,  
23  
e acculturation, disorganizing effects,

racially mixed people  
reactions to external  
urbanization and t  
white worker-emp  
162  
See also Apartheid  
Soviet Union, anti-Zi  
Spain, colonial policy  
Spanish relation with  
Sports.  
participation, 128-  
racial biases of fan  
Status consciousness  
88-91  
Status of ethnic group  
and acculturation,  
and effects of inte  
Stereotypes, ethnic.  
and criminal justice  
and desegregation,  
dominant and min  
in interethnic relat  
in school materials  
Supertribalization in A  
Sweden, weakness of  
28  
Switzerland, multiling  
Symbiotic (noncompe  
135  
Termination, as India  
153, 173  
Texas:  
Mexican-American  
74  
Mexican-American  
139  
students, Anglo and  
90, 99  
wage discriminati  
Americans, 115  
Thailand, Chinese in,  
Toronto, Anglo-Saxo  
122  
Tribal associations in  
Tribal particularism, 5  
Tribalism, 28  
Triple melting pot, 19  
Uganda, Asians n, 1  
Uganda, Asians n, 1



- University of California, Los Angeles.
  - foreign students, 54
  - Mexican-American studies, 78
- University of Minnesota, Scandinavian studies, 78
- University of New Mexico, Chicano studies, 78
- University of Wisconsin, Scandinavian studies, 78
- Upward Bound, 171
- Urbanization and ethnic relations, 158-160
- Voting rights enforcement, U.S., 166, 167
- Wage discrimination, 113-116
  - and industrialization, South Africa, 160-162
- War, effects of:
  - on ethnic community, 62
  - on ethnic consciousness, 21, 130
- Washington, D.C..
  - black community, 64
  - employment in black ghetto, 113
- West Indians in Great Britain, 26, 31
- West Indies, French and British, 118
- White backlash, 29, 181
- White Citizens Councils, 184
- White ethnics.
  - attitudes toward blacks, 144
  - attitudes toward development for minorities, 172
  - See also Catholic Americans
- White liberals, 96, 121, 167
- White racism, U.S., 142-144
- White southerners, U.S.
  - in Chicago, 25
  - as co-workers with blacks, in northern cities, 63
- Zanzibar, revolution in, 104
- Zionism, Jewish attitudes toward